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No Peace in Paris

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Paris, May 5

THE other day M. Bidault and Mr. Byrnes agreed that the Foreign Ministers' sessions were "getting nowhere"; so the four Ministers unanimously decided to substitute a formal morning meeting and an informal—meaning small and secret—afternoon meeting for the two formal ones previously held. This drastic reform seems to have had the effects of enabling the conference to get almost nowhere about twice as fast as before. The Russians' well-publicized amiability at the start of the sessions has progressively diminished as the discussions have moved into crucial areas; today it looks as if Trieste were to be the pay-off, since the German question as a whole is not likely to be dealt with. But the big fact behind every specific dispute is that no basis for any fundamental agreement now exists. The fate of Trieste as between Italy and Yugoslavia is unimportant in itself. What is important is the fate of Europe, which is symbolized by the deadlock over Trieste.

This fact cannot be explicitly faced by the Ministers meeting in Paris, and the real issues will not be decided by them. It will be decided by shifts in the balance of power among the nations themselves.

Let me give a few examples of what I mean. Last week Mr. Byrnes, who is playing an energetic role here in contrast to his performance in London last winter, proposed his plan for the future control of Germany. It was undoubtedly designed to provide the necessary underpinning of confidence which would make possible a compromise between the French and British positions on the Ruhr. I have seen the full text of the Byrnes plan which was not released here to the press, and I must say that it struck me as surprisingly radical. Such a far-reaching commitment is without precedent in American history, and only the unqualified support of Mr. Vandenberg inclines me to think it could conceivably pass the Senate. But the proposal was received coldly, almost indifferently, by every French newspaper.

This attitude was reflected in leading articles in the Paris press, which, taken together, made these points: France cannot rely on American occupation of Germany lasting twenty-five years. Perhaps American isolationism is dead, at least in its extreme form, but there remains a definite repugnance to any policy which involves intervention in other continents, particularly in Europe. Certainly the situation is not such as to incline any European power to repose full confidence in a scheme like that of Mr. Byrnes. This, say the French, is the fundamental objection. Technically the idea is quite acceptable. Control of Germany through a four-power commission would work well as long as the major Allied nations remained in agreement on policy toward Germany. Unfortunately no such agreement exists even now. If after 1919 the rearmament of the Reich was not prevented, it was not because the machinery provided in the Treaty of Versailles was inadequate but because the victors—especially Britain and France—were divided in their views on Germany. With agreement among the Allies, the Byrnes plan would be workable; without it a far better plan would be useless. Any convention signed in these circumstances would become less binding with each year that passed, and this process of weakening would in itself tend to multiply the disputes that divide the powers, with the result that isolationist tendencies in the United States would increase and new voices would raise the old cry that the country should withdraw from Europe.

Behind this skeptical French approach is a realistic understanding, first, that Germany is today the focal center of the Russian-Western conflict of interest, and, second, that the coming elections in the United States may wipe out the small and uncertain majority favoring American participation in maintaining peace.

Other issues have similar political overtones. Take Trieste as the most immediate and difficult. Shall Tito or Italy get the city and port and the area behind them? The ministers may go through the motions of studying the experts' reports and comparing ethnic lines. They may discuss plans of international control. Molotov may appeal to Yugoslavia's great services in the war and the need of righting historic wrongs; Bevin to the wishes of the people who live on that disputed piece of earth. But the issue is elsewhere, and the decision will measure the advance of Russian power westward to the Adriatic or the success of Britain, backed by the United States, in checking that advance. And so with other problems. The latest British plan for the Ruhr has not yet been laid before the Ministers, but French and British officials are discussing it here in Paris. The proposal provides that the Ruhr and Rhineland shall be under Allied

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control as far as the industries are concerned but that the region shall remain under a central German government, although it will have a special status after the termination of Allied occupation of Germany as a whole. No further details are known, but the Manchester Guardian reports that Mr. Bevin has full power to bring the plan before the conference. It suggests that Britain will favor "large-scale nationalization of German industry under international control so that it will never again become a potential source of war." Such a plan will be opposed by the French government, which is unalterably committed to the political separation of the Ruhr from Germany. But French opinion is divided. The Communists support the government position—which Russia backs for its own reasons—while the Socialists might easily accept something quite close to the British plan. The Continental edition of the *Daily Mail* says casually today: "Final negotiations [between Britain and France] are not likely to take place till after the French elections." Here again considerations of security or economic stability must wait upon political developments.

The role of the United States in this play of forces is ambiguous. Our power is looked upon as a monstrous factor necessary to placate but impossible to gauge. Specific proposals such as that put forward by Byrnes are set against a confused background of isolationism, imperialism, aggressive support of free enterprise, and exclusive possession of a growing supply of atomic bombs. We could be the most powerful ally of the forces working for democratic survival in Europe; by many European democrats we are looked upon as its chief enemy.

But little is gained by looking for villains in the Luxembourg Palace. There are no villains. There are immense forces crystallizing, coalescing, dividing, meeting in conflict. Peace is not going to be made in a room. If peace is made at all, it will be by people fighting their way out of a desolation of suffering and ruin toward new forms of social and political control. One can learn more about the sort of Europe that is taking shape by studying the results of today's referendum in France than by listening to all the "fill-ins" provided by Mr. MacDermott after the meetings of the Ministers.

For the vote on the constitution, taken together with the general elections on June 2, will indicate what forces are likely to control the future of France. The referendum has aroused strong feelings on both sides. It is supported by the Socialists and Communists and some groups farther to the right. It is opposed by the conservatives and also by certain left and liberal elements which object to specific provisions. Therefore it cannot be considered a clear-cut left-right plebiscite, although the Communists, perhaps unwisely, have consisently played it up as one. But it is true that a big majority either way would announce a basic test of power in

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France that would have a direct bearing on the foreign policy of the French government.

May 6

Referendum returns are in. The constitution is lost and with it many months of intense effort. It is too early to analyze the results in detail. *L'Aurore,* representing the extreme right, this morning headlined the referendum story "France Rejects the Communist Constitution," and goes on to say that the French people have said no to dictatorship and to control by the U. S. S. R. It is not as simple as that. A better analysis is presented by Daniel Mayer, general secretary of the Socialist Party, in *Le Populaire.* He believes the vote reflects the preoccupation of the people with unsettled and uncomfortable conditions and, even more, the exaggerated propaganda of the right, which steadily harped on the alleged threat to personal liberties and private property lurking behind the democratic phrases of the proposed constitution. Above all, he believes the fear of outright Communist control influenced the voters, and he chides the Communist Party for providing the reactionaries with a useful weapon in the slogan *"Thorez ou pouvoir."* In any case the vote is not a sweeping decision nor does it prove that France has suddenly switched to the right. What it seems to indicate is a regrouping of forces. The right is reemerging into the political light of day; party lines are being more clearly drawn; but the real issue will be joined on June 2. Any prediction of a left defeat on that day would be premature and very risky.

The Shape of Things

WITH STOCKS OF COAL RAPIDLY NEARING exhaustion for railroads, public utilities, and industrial plants throughout the country, it is apparent that some action must come soon in the five-weeks-old coal strike. If the public is utterly confused over the issues of the strike, the responsibility rests squarely on John L. Lewis. Apart from insisting that the employers recognize his claims to a levy of 10 cents a ton for a union-controlled health and welfare fund, Lewis has made no specific demands on the companies. He has intimated that he expects a better wage settlement than the C. I. O. steel and automobile workers received but has set no figure. The operators, as usual, have made no move to meet the miners' legitimate complaints, hoping that public opinion will ultimately turn so decisively against Lewis that they will escape with a moderate wage increase. Since both Lewis and the operators have shown, both on this occasion and frequently in the past, that they have no sense of public responsibility, a national disaster can be avoided only if the government forces a settlement. While experience has shown that taking over the mines will not automatically bring the miners back into the pits, it has also shown that until the government does control the mines, neither side is likely to get down to serious bargaining.

*

THE PROSPECT FOR A NEW COMPROMISE IN China has brightened despite the Kuomintang's rejection of General Marshall's initial proposals for a Manchurian truce. Both factions appear to have accepted, in principle, the extension of the military truce to include Manchuria, and the differences in recent negotiations have concerned the exact line of demarcation between Communist and Kuomintang zones of influence. The Communists' success in taking over Changchun, Harbin, and Tsitsihar, Manchuria's three chief cities, has undoubtedly greatly increased their bargaining power. The Kuomintang's crack American-equipped armies have proved disappointing in action and have made comparatively little headway against the strong local guerrilla forces which have joined the Communists. An indication of the Communists' improved bargaining position is found in the report that General Ho Ying-chin, leader of the Kuomintang's ultra-reactionary right wing, is to be relieved of his position as chief of staff and sent out of China on a military mission. Democratic leaders in China have always contended that no basic political settlement holding the promise of democratic progress could be achieved as long as Ho Ying-chin occupied a strategic post in the military administration.

*

SOME OF THE SENATORS WHO HAD BEEN intent on completing the knifing job done on OPA by the House appear to be having second thoughts. As Tris Coffin explains on another page, a deluge of mail from irate voters has reminded them that in November victims of inflation might be reaching for a hatchet. Consumer pressure has been fortified by a rallying of more far-sighted business men to the defense of continued controls. Eric Johnston, retiring President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, told the annual convention of that body that business was heading for a permanent stay in the doghouse if it insisted on an unrestricted opportunity to cash in on the current shortage of goods. The National Association of Manufacturers, however, is incorrigible. As a counter-blast to the growing consumer campaign it has broadcast another of those full-page advertisements to finance which it appears to have an inexhaustible supply of funds. Seductively headed "Would you like some BUTTER or a ROAST of BEEF" it alleges that OPA "controls" have discouraged the production of butter and driven meat into the black market. "It's the same thing," it continues, "with other things you want: men's suits, underwear, socks, work gloves, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, electric irons, toasters, women's low-priced dresses, moderate and low-priced textiles, lumber and other building materials, furniture." The OPA has held up production of these things and "failed com-

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pletely to stop the modern bootleggers and racketeers who prey upon us all." What the N. A. M. doesn't tell us is how all the goods we cannot buy in the stores get into the hands of the racketeers. There seems to be only one possible explanation—that many manufacturers of such articles are diverting supplies into illegitimate channels. By inference the advertisement is a tremendous indictment of American business.

✶

WHEN DR. HJALMAR SCHACHT, ON TRIAL AS a war criminal, told the Nürnberg court that "Hitler deceived the world, Germany and me," one felt he was placing the victims in ascending order of importance. The arrogant former head of the Reichsbank has always regarded himself as the most superior member of a superior race. It was as a Pan-German, anxious to enhance his country's power, that he supported Hitler thinking he could use him. He admitted on the witness stand that he approved the original Nazi program, apart from its anti-Semitic features—an objection he did not press to the point of refusing to sign decrees for the seizure of Jewish property. He admitted, also, responsibility for financing the rearmament program and in fact, for all actions of the Nazi Cabinet up to 1937 when Goering, whom he despises, manipulated his removal as Minister of Economy. But he suggested, the Court ought to overlook this record in view of the fact that he turned against Hitler in 1939, supplied Allied representatives with warnings and information, and even took part in the 1944 assassination plot. The evidence he produced in support of these claims was not, however, very conclusive. No doubt, supreme egotist that he is, he decided that a regime which had dispensed with *his* services was doomed and looked for a line of personal retreat. But, having also a healthy regard for his own skin, he covered his tracks so carefully that, even in 1944, he was arrested only on suspicion, or perhaps by arrangement. After all a few months as a specially privileged prisoner was a small premium to pay for the opportunity to depict himself in court as a Nazi victim.

Wilful Men at Work

IT IS estimated that if the Anglo-American Financial Agreement, which includes the $3¾ billion loan to Britain, could be brought to a vote in the Senate it would be ratified by a majority of twelve or eighteen. Debate has now been going on for three weeks, and every member has had ample opportunity to express his views, but a semi-filibuster conducted by the bi-partisan opposition is holding up action. An effort is now being made to limit debate but it seems improbable that such a motion can obtain a two-thirds majority. In spite of the firm stand taken by majority leader Barkley there is grave danger that the British loan will be sidetracked for an indefinite period. As a result the whole international economic program of the Administration is being put in jeopardy. The world, listening intently to the debate, is beginning to wonder whether the United States, despite all protestations that it has abandoned isolationism forever, has in fact learned nothing and forgotten everything.

One of the most depressing aspects of the Senate proceedings is the feeble grasp of many of the participants on political and economic realities. Even some of the supporters of the loan leaned heavily on the irrelevant and explosive argument that it was a necessary means of bolstering a future ally against Russia. By sticking the label of power politics on financial aid to Britain, supporters of the loan have gratuitously handed Moscow a new cause for suspicion. The real political importance of the loan is not that it binds or buys an ally but that its denial would inevitably open a rift between America and Britain and lead to a new era of economic warfare.

Among the opponents of the bill Senator McFarland of Arizona has been prominent with an alternative proposal to make the loan conditional on the cession by Britain of the islands where the United States now has naval bases on ninety-nine-year leases. This plan commands considerable support, particularly, it seems, in quarters ready to attack British imperialism at the drop of a hat. Isn't it about time that we learned that British colonies are not under the absolute control of Westminster, that their peoples have constitutional rights and cannot be shifted to another sovereignty without their consent. An essential preliminary to the transfer of any Caribbean island to the United States would be a plebiscite, and we are prepared to give any Senator odds that the West Indians would vote for British imperialism in preference to American.

An objection to the loan raised by several Senators, inspired apparently by Jesse Jones, is that there is no arrangement which will earmark all of it for expenditure in this country. Of course, it does not actually make any difference to us whether Britain spends the dollars it receives for Brazilian coffee or for American wheat. The Brazilians may use those dollars to buy textile machinery here or ball-bearings in Sweden, but however many hands they pass through they will eventually find their way back to this country to be exchanged for American goods. The only other thing temporary foreign holders could do with these dollars would be to hoard them, and in a world clamoring for a chance to buy American goods this does not seem very likely to happen. It is strange that one has to spell out such elementary facts about the mechanism of international trade, particularly when America is leading a crusade against bilateral deals and discrimination. It ought to be obvious that a tied loan, whose terms dictate where it is to be spent, is just as much discriminatory as a trade deal in which the buyer limits the seller in the disposal of the proceeds of the sale.

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A revision of the loan's terms so as to obtain greater real or fancied benefits for this country would, of course, mean a renegotiation of the whole agreement and an indefinite postponement of the aid Britain so sorely needs. So far the British government, having secured prompt ratification of the agreement by Parliament, has behaved as if the loan would eventually be made available. It has maintained its war-time exchange controls, but it has not tightened them as it will certainly be compelled to do if the loan is withheld. But every month's delay in Congress means a further drain on its resources of gold and dollars and adds to the difficulties it will have in carrying out its obligations under the agreement. And until our policy is fixed Britain and the many countries with which it has close commercial ties cannot lay any long-term plans. Once again a handful of wilful men, by an irresponsible exercise of their prerogative to talk endlessly, are undermining America's influence in the world and endangering its international relations.

What Did We Fight For?

WE ARE grateful to Sir Norman Angell for contributing to the current *Nation* an article bound to provoke discussion. We would urge our readers to read Leftism in the Atomic Age before they give their attention to our comment below.

With the main thesis—that ideological differences are today building up conflicts threatening to destroy the United Nations—we are in essential agreement. We have frequently stated that the outstanding problem in international affairs is to bridge the gulf of misunderstanding between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union. Nor have we ever suggested that the problem can be solved simply by saying "yes" to all Russia's demands and proposals and so achieving "unity." It is as disastrous to assume with the Stalinists that all dissenting positions of the democracies are further evidence of the anti-Soviet conspiracy as it is to assume with our civilian and military reactionaries that war with Russia must come and we had better get ready. We believe that larger fields of common action must be explored, and marginal areas of friction, where spheres of influence impinge on one another, should be brought soon under U. N. control. We do not believe that "it is the purpose of the future world authority to uphold the true doctrine in matters of political, economic, and social faith." We believe, rather, that its purpose is to build a world order in which peoples are free to live under governments and forms of society of their own choice, provided these governments and societies carry no menace to the peace and security of the world. In this broad liberal creed we find ourselves in general agreement with Sir Norman Angell.

But if this new order allows for wide divergence in economic and political patterns, it also has certain characteristics which set it off from the pre-war order. In the minds of millions of the men who fought it and of many of the war leaders the war was, in fact, "the midwife of a new order." At the outset it was a war against the fascist and Nazi systems, against the fascist and Nazi way of life, which led inevitably to war. The men who fought the war fought not merely to destroy the fascist armies but to eliminate the fascist state. (That is why they have a continuing interest in the future of Franco Spain.) But they also fought so that their hopes of a free life, held back by inveterate feudal reaction or frustrated by fascist oppression, might come to fulfilment. These positive war aims were stated in such great documents as the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the Four Freedoms and they were summed up in the phrase, One World. They became flesh and blood in the underground liberation movements. Sometimes their revolutionary content took a violent form against primitive feudal reaction in Eastern Europe. Where the democratic tradition was highly developed, as in France and England, it expressed itself in a new socialist government or a revitalized left.

Whether this movement toward a new freedom is stated in liberal or socialist terms is not very important. The liberal Beveridge today, with his comprehensive plan for social security and full employment, is much closer to the Socialist Laski than to those diehard free enterprisers who would undo all forms of economic control in our society. Laski at *The Nation* dinner may have been hard on "the business man," but the spectacle in Washington during the last few weeks, where the official representatives of big business have been killing OPA by slow torture and turning a deaf ear to the cries of starving people, has made us more sympathetic to his blast. For here we have the same frenetic drive for profits, the same callous disregard of human rights, the same impatience of social controls, the same isolationist indifference to the needs of other nations that, in the twenties, laid the ground for World War II.

We wonder, that Sir Norman should forget the boom and the crash, the worldwide economic collapse brought on by the planless nature of our capitalist order; that he should forget the despair of the unemployed, the disillusionment with democracy, the rise of extremist reactionaries, and eventually the emergence of militaristic Nazism, flaunting the new Germanic dream of world domination in the face of the "decadent democracies" and Soviet communism. It was this latter slogan which appealed to the Tories. Pressed by socialist forces at home, they viewed with some complacency—in some cases with outspoken approval—a nationalist movement that had proclaimed an international crusade against bolshevism. It was these Tories—in England, France, and

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America—who initiated the fatal non-intervention policy in Franco Spain, where Hitler fought and won his important first round. It was they who made Munich. It was they who realized only after Hitler had invaded Poland that the line of their own vital defenses had been reached and they would have to fight. (This was pointed out very brilliantly by Sir Norman Angell in an article in *The Nation* for July 5, 1941.)

The other events Sir Norman lists—the Russo-Nazi pact, the suicidal policy of the Communist parties in opposing the war as "imperialist" and thus weakening the democracies whose aid Russia was to need so desperately, the Churchill and Roosevelt policies of aid to Russia—all these were strategic or tactical operations of a military or semi-military character. They do not alter a whit the essentially anti-fascist character of the war and its essentially revolutionary objectives. If what Sir Norman challenges is a doctrinaire interpretation, or an ideological inflexibility which does not permit of compromise, we have no quarrel with him. But if he would reduce the war to a mere struggle for survival and international arrangements to pure expediency, then we think he is dangerously close to that myopic opportunism he has so valiantly battled these many long years. For survival today depends on the realization of a new order built not merely upon the fear of atomic destruction but upon the insistent demands for a free life for the common people of the world.

The Palestine Report

BY I. F. STONE

THE main body of the report made by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine is an extremely able document—thorough, comprehensive, sympathetic, and fair. It does not compare unfavorably with that classic exposition of the Palestinian question, the 1937 report of the Royal Commission headed by Lord Peel. This new report deserves to be widely read, for it provides an authoritative survey of the Jewish tragedy in Europe and the present situation in Palestine. The most dreadful exhibit is Appendix III, a table showing country by country the decimation of the Jewish people. The committee estimates that at least 5,000,000 Jews lost their lives during the war; European Jewry was thus proportionately by far the largest sufferer in World War II. In dealing with the survivors the committee did not confine itself to statistics. It provides a vivid picture of the Jewish D. P.'s in the camps of Germany and Austria, "around them Germans living a family life in their own homes . . . outwardly little affected by the war," while the Jews still feel themselves "outcasts and unwanted."

There are few families left. In the rubble of the Warsaw ghetto, among the "pits containing human ash and human bones," the committee caught a glimpse of "Jews who came searching, so often in vain, for any trace of their dear ones." They undertake "long journeys on hearing a rumor that one has been seen in another part of the country or in another center." The committee began to understand how these survivors felt in Germany and Poland, where "a Jew may see in the face of any man he looks upon the murderer of his family." To General Morgan's obtuse and unfeeling charges of last winter the committee replied, "The existence of an organization deliberately facilitating emigration was not established." But it saw nothing strange in "the intense desire . . . to depart from localities so full of . . . poignant memories."

Everywhere the committee found that efforts by Jews to enforce their rights to restitution of property were creating ill-feeling. Anti-Semitism has grown stronger, and the only countries in which the committee reported no evidence of it were Italy, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria; of Greece the committee says that "fundamentally" there is no anti-Semitism there but that efforts of surviving Jews to regain their property "may complicate relations." Except in these countries and the Czech provinces the committee obviously felt that there was little future for the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. It estimated that "as many as 500,000 may wish or be impelled to emigrate from Europe." Only of the Hungarian Jews does the committee report that the United States "appears to be the first choice for immigration." Elsewhere, especially in the D. P. camps, emigration to Palestine seems to the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe "the only real chance of rebuilding their shattered lives and of becoming normal men and women again."

In Palestine the committee found a willingness to receive the homeless at the cost of a lower standard of living for the whole Jewish community. The report pays tribute to what the Yishuv has done, calling it "a miracle both of physical achievement and of spiritual endeavor." It says that "as pioneers in Palestine" the Jews "have a record of which they can be proud." In contrast to similar colonizing by Western peoples in backward areas, "there has been no expulsion of the indigenous population, and exploitation of cheap Arab labor has been vigorously opposed as inconsistent with Zionism." The committee was impressed with the democratic character of the community and with the fact that "the new Jewish colonization has assumed more and more the character of

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a socialist experiment." The committee's criticism is that the Jews have been too exclusive. The reason is understandable—"the Jews feel they have enough to do defending their own position without taking on the Arab problem as well." But the committee is right when it says that the application of Jewish funds and energies directly to the task of raising Arab standards "might be quite as important for the growth and security of the National Home as the draining of swamp lands or the creation of Jewish industry."

The Arab community in Palestine is portrayed as a quasi-feudal society. Civilization is based on the clan. Power resides in "a small group of influential families." It is "almost impossible for the son of an Arab fellah to rise to a position of wealth and political influence." While the democratically elected Jewish Agency has become a state within a state, the Arab leaders "have refused to develop a self-governing community parallel to that of the Jews." The reason is that they have not been "prepared to see their position called in question by such democratic forms as elections for the Arab Higher Committee or the formation of popularly based political parties." This basic anti-democratic tendency explains why the Arab community has yet to assume, as the committee thinks it should, "the same responsibility with regard to education as the Jewish." The rich effendi has no great desire to tax himself to educate the fellah.

Alongside the "deep political antagonism" between the Arab and Jewish communities the committee noted the "friendliness which indubitably exists" in the everyday life of town and village. It "observed with pleasure" the cooperation achieved between the two peoples in the Haifa municipal government and in the joint Arab-Jewish trade unions on the railways and in the potash industry. It says, however, that such examples are much too rare. Perhaps they would be less rare if the Palestine government fostered self-governing institutions at least on the local level, as the committee suggests, especially in the country districts, where "a spirit of good neighborliness exists among the common people, Arabs and Jews." But much too little has been done in this direction by the mandatory power, and the committee declares that Palestine today is governed without the consent of Jews or Arabs by an administration depending almost solely upon force for the maintenance of a precarious authority."

The Peel Commission recommended the partition of Palestine between the two peoples. The Anglo-American Committee suggests a bi-national solution. The latter seems to me far wiser; Jews and Arabs must learn to live together. With the principle of non-domination set down by the committee I agree, as I do with the proposition that the future Palestine needs a constitution in which neither people will fear the ascendancy of the other. The struggle for "a numerical majority . . . must be made purposeless by the constitution itself." Within that framework I think there is ample room for unlimited Jewish immigration, and even with unlimited Jewish immigration the Jews are unlikely to become much more than roughly equal in number to the Arabs, for the Arab birth rate is higher.

But when we turn from the main body of the report to the "Recommendations and Comment" we find ourselves in much less satisfactory territory; here we are aware of bitter dispute, unpalatable compromise, disheartening double-talk, and hidden pitfalls. In recommending that the gates of Palestine be opened at once to 100,000 Jewish refugees, the committtee would take care of those most in need—the D. P.'s in the camps of Germany and Austria; for so much we should be grateful. By its recommendations on future immigration and the land laws, the committee would scrap the White Paper of 1939. But a hostile British administration of Palestine would not find it difficult to utilize other recommendations and qualifications in the report to restrict further Jewish immigration, land purchase, and development.

It is clear that the American members of the committee had to make important concessions to the British in order to win the recommendation for the admission of the 100,000. Most serious of all is the absence of any concrete proposal to implement the report's bi-nationalist principles, to make any change looking toward the development of self-government on the basis of Arab-Jewish cooperation. On the contrary, Arab-Jewish political differences are seized upon, as in the past, to excuse the continuance of a form of government for Palestine suited only to the most backward parts of Africa. That government, as the committee itself describes it, is one in which "neither Jews nor Arabs have been included in the higher ranks," and in which British officials exercise "as much authority as in a country where the mass of the inhabitants are in a primitive stage of civilization."

This is bound to infuriate the Arabs, who want at least the beginnings of self-government for the country. It is bound to infuriate the Jews, because there is no assurance of enough immigration after admission of the 100,000 to make the abandonment of the idea of a Jewish state acceptable. Crown Colony government by largely unsympathetic Colonial Office officials would be continued and given new powers over Jewish education and the Jewish community. At the same time these officials would have the power to restrict future Jewish immigration as they pleased on the ground that "it is the right of every independent nation to determine . . . the number of immigrants to be admitted to its lands." Hypocrisy was never more unabashed. Most infuriating of all is the fact that under Recommendation 6 these officials could open Palestine's gates to anti-Semitic and reactionary Poles loyal to the late government in exile. They might

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also use some very oily language about the religious interest of Christendom in Palestine to justify interfering with such schemes as the Jordan Valley Authority.

Prime Minister Attlee's statement in the Commons makes the whole affair seem a kind of cruel tease. That the British government should want the assurance of American help in implementing the recommendations is thoroughly understandable. To establish a second condition, an impossible condition rejected by the committee, is to bring the good faith of the British government into question. What Mr. Attlee wants in effect is American help in disarming the Jews of Palestine. Why he wants to disarm the Jews at a time when Britain declares itself fearful of an Arab uprising is a question the reader will have to answer for himself. Mr. Truman, to whose insistence we owe the recommendation on the 100,000, may yet save the day by pressing for admission of the 100,000 while offering American aid in settling them and in making it clear to the Arabs that America stands firmly behind Britain. I still think the key to the future lies in rehabilitation of the whole Middle Eastern area, including the Jordan Valley, in a way which will benefit both Jews and Arabs. America has the capital if Britain has the vision. All the fine words and constructive possibilities in this new report will go down the drain of history unless Mr. Truman and Mr. Attlee get together.

Leftism in the Atomic Age

BY NORMAN ANGELL

Author of "The Great Illusion," "Let the People Know," and other books; recipient in 1933 of the Nobel Peace Prize

IN THE discussions of the atomic bomb the most fundamental considerations seem to get the least attention. Little consideration, for instance, seems to have been given in this context to the truth that men, particularly in political matters, are not guided by the facts but by their opinions about the facts, opinions which can so readily, by common emotional processes, become the kind held by millions of educated Germans who were passionately convinced that the war was caused by Jews, or by the tens of millions of intelligent Americans who believed after the First World War that it had been caused by armament makers or by bankers used as tools by British capitalists bent on swollen profits (like those, presumably, which British capitalists are now enjoying)—ideas voiced by all Communists and some Socialists during the first two years of the war just ended.

The history of every revolution which devours its children, of every religion which sets up inquisitions to rack and burn the heretic for the greater glory of God, should warn us that we are far more likely to throw the bomb at each other quarreling over rival doctrines than quarreling over conflicting interests. Interests we can compromise with no sense of sin; ideologies must be held inviolate, and passionate conviction, or fanaticism, becomes a virtue.

But it is a virtue which in the atomic age may destroy us. We know from repeated experience that two men of differing social doctrine might travel together over Russia, witness exactly the same things, and return with conflicting accounts and diametrically opposed conclusions. Access to the facts, though indispensable, is not enough. With it must go a realization of the need to discipline doctrinal prepossessions which distort interpretation of the facts. If in 1920 the American public rejected Wilson and his policy, embraced isolationism, and after a decade and a half of discussion sanctioned the Neutrality Act—which had its part in bringing on World War II—it was not because in all those years the facts were unavailable. The trouble, as in the British acceptance of appeasement as the road to peace, was the mood and temper in which the facts were selected and interpreted. The temper of nationalism has heretofore been the main mischief. That has now been largely replaced, or perhaps reinforced, by the rancorous partisanship of social and economic doctrine, which can be just as intolerant and blinding, and even more dangerous.

WORLD AUTHORITY FOR WHAT PURPOSE?

Assuming such habits of the human mind are encouraged, what chance has a world parliament of agreeing upon the ultimate purpose of power in the international society of the future? Yet that is the purpose upon which we must agree if world authority is both to control the bomb and to preserve the freedoms we fought for in two world wars. If "peace" alone, whatever its price in freedom, is our aim, we could have had it by submission to Hitler or the Japanese.

Whether or not we achieve freedom as well as peace will depend upon our answer to this question: Is the purpose of the future world authority to uphold the true doctrine in matters of political, economic, and social faith, or is it to uphold the right to challenge the doctrine laid down by authority, to criticize and discuss it and reject it? More and more of late the left has drifted away from this latter position of freedom toward the position that power must be used to enforce the true

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doctrine. This tendency endangers the basic principle upon which modern free societies have grown up.

Under leftist influences the clear and simple purpose with which the war began has not merely been changed; it has been reversed, or stands in obvious danger of so being. The war began as the assertion of the right of each nation to be free from external coercion as to the social or political system under which it preferred to live, the assertion of the right of each to his own way of life so long as that did not threaten others. When Britain and France faced what they knew would be the almost annihilating cost of a second war within a quarter-century in order to defend Poland, it was not because they regarded Poland as a model state, or liked its methods, but because the first of all national rights, the right to exist, had to be defended if nations—including the British and French nations—were to retain that right. The right of each to choose its system was implicit in the action of the Western democracies. The effect of America's entrance into the war, for instance, was to make sure that Russia should have the right to remain Communist, just as the effect of Russia's entrance was to help America retain capitalism, or free enterprise. This "right to choose" represents the one completely common interest of all nations, overriding doctrinal or ideological differences—a common purpose upon which peace and freedom may be built. If as a condition precedent to cooperation in the war Russia had had to renounce communism, or America capitalism, there would have been no cooperation, even for war. And cooperation for peace is much more difficult.

Soon after the war began, its original purpose of defending the right of each nation to its own mode of life free of foreign subjugation was repudiated by much of the left. "Mere" national survival was not, we were told, the real purpose of the war. Its purpose was to bring about a revolutionary social and political change the world over. It was to be the midwife of a new social order, as a common expression put it. It was, in other words, to bring in socialism, though there is nothing upon which Socialists differ so bitterly as on what socialism really is and what measures are necessary for its success—as witness the successive changes of party line in Russia, the differences which led to the purges, the fact that Moscow is in much deeper conflict with a Socialist British government than it was with a Tory one, as Molotov himself avowed.

DOES SOCIALISM "MEAN PEACE"?

Professor Harold Laski, discussing the bomb in what he seemed to regard as the appropriate spirit, and speaking in this country while the loan asked for by the Labor government from capitalist America was still undecided, insisted that the danger of atomic war lies, not in the nature of the public mind, not in tendencies within all of us that have come down from age-old tribal conflict and need discipline, but in the presence in Western society of "the business man." On no account, he said, should there be any compromise with this "capitalist class." Understanding and adjustment are out of the question. The capitalist order must be utterly abolished and a completely new civilization erected. He assured us that Nazism—which happens to be short for National Socialism—was "the culmination of a society built upon the anarchy of free enterprise." He added: "There is no middle way. Free enterprise and the market economy mean war; socialism and the planned economy mean peace. All attempts to find a compromise are a satanic illusion."

Earlier, Laski had assured us in *The Nation* that the present is "no time for half measures," that "liberal democracy has broken down . . . it belongs to an age that has passed." Note the implications. Retention of any vestige of capitalism means war, which means atomic war, which means annihilation. Taken at its face value, the proposition justifies the extreme crusading form of Russian policy, since safety from the utter physical destruction of atomic warfare depends on complete liquidation of capitalism everywhere and the substitution for it of pure, unqualified socialism. But apart from the bitter disagreements among Socialists as to what true socialism is, we know that for a very long time there are likely to remain in the United States and perhaps in England features of economic life which the purist would condemn as belonging to the fatal system of "free enterprise and the market economy"; just as recently some leftist purists have excommunicated Switzerland and Sweden as fascist states.

Our concern at the moment is how to establish with Russia the same sort of confidence about the use of atomic weapons that already exists between Britain and the United States. No one in the United States is really disturbed by the fact that Britain possesses the bomb secret and Canada its raw material. The confidence exists despite much raucous ill-feeling over the loan, Palestine, Greece, Java, Siam, India. Why, then, misgiving in the case of Russia? Hatred of socialism? But success of the British form of socialism is likely to be more disturbing to the American capitalist than anything Russia has produced in the last thirty years. The reason for the greater misgiving concerning Russia's possession of the bomb lies in political facts which so much of the left insists are of secondary importance. To put it bluntly, many in the West fear what might be done with atomic armaments by a dictator—who tomorrow may not be Stalin—or a small committee not subject to free public criticism, lacking the mental and moral discipline which comes from criticism, not subject to parliamentary check or removal, as was even such an able and popular leader as Churchill in the West.

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On the Russian side there are equally deep fears of the West. For a quarter of a century the Russian people have been indoctrinated with the official theology that peace and capitalism are incompatible, that the West can never be trusted so long as it retains its present economic system, that Western democracy is a sham since power rests in the hands of a capitalist class ready to seize any opportunity to weaken Russia and undermine its security. Much of this has been recently reaffirmed by Stalin himself, who reasserted, undiluted, all the slogans, all the incantations. Obviously so long as such a view is dominant in Russia relations with the West will be extremely difficult. And much of our left is at pains to assure Moscow that the Russian view is entirely sound and Russian suspicions entirely justified—which is hardly a good beginning for understanding, unless it is assumed that the West will accept the Russian system and the Russian way of life. It is the more tragic because if the simple facts of experience instead of abstract doctrine and rival ideologies governed policy, a basis of cooperation for peace could assuredly be found. But, once more, fact and doctrine are in amazing conflict, as events reveal.

LEFTIST THEORY VS. THE FACTS

In the inter-war years the left was insistent that the capitalist West was bent upon alliance with Germany to crush socialist Russia, that the impending war would be along the lines of the Marxist "class conflict." This theory and forecast can now be judged by the event, the facts, which are these: (1) When a Tory-capitalist government in Britain declared war it was not against socialist Russia but against fascist Germany. (2) It was Communist Russia, not the capitalist West, which formed a pact with fascist Germany, a pact which, the probabilities indicate, enabled Germany to begin the war before the Western democracies were ready. (3) Communist parties everywhere for nearly two years aided, not the Western democracies, but Germany, by moral and sometimes material sabotage of the Allied war effort. (4) When Hitler offered Britain peace on the condition that, in return for keeping its empire, it remain neutral while Germany crushed Russia, it was a Tory-imperialist-capitalist Prime Minister of a direly harassed Britain who refused the offer and became instead the ally of socialist Russia. (5) The resources of the greatest capitalist power in the world, America, were freely given to insure the victory of Communist Russia and enable it to become the greatest military power in the world.

These are the facts. They invalidate a great part of the leftist thesis of the last twenty years. If they were faced instead of being systematically distorted they would be recognized as furnishing a basis for peaceful cooperation between Russia and the West.

If the purpose of international cooperation is to enable each nation to live free from outside dictation under the particular social, political, and economic system which it prefers and for which its background and circumstances fit it, we know that the thing can be done, because we did it during the war. When Churchill, on that fateful Sunday morning of June, 1941, offered Russia Britain's fullest aid in the fight against aggression, he did not exact that in the future Russia must abandon communism. He realized that the two nations had a common interest which transcended ideological or economic differences. No one believed then that the Allies were fighting for some particular kind of socialism not yet defined or agreed upon, some kind which must, presumably, be agreeable to Moscow. Does anyone really believe now that peace or freedom lies along the road of making international power the instrument of some particular economic, or social, or political creed, as once the church so mistakenly attempted to make force the instrument of its religious creed, establishing its Gestapo or N. K. V. D. in the shape of the Inquisition?

The task of a Russian government compelled to ask heavy sacrifices of its people will of course be greatly facilitated if it can paint a picture of a hostile world ready to pounce upon the socialist fatherland and can quote leaders and learned professors of the West in support of that picture. The nationalism to which every government at times appeals is immensely reinforced by the Marxist theology. And any foreign office would rejoice to possess such agents and allies in every country of the world as Russia possesses in the Communist parties of the world and in their fellow-traveling allies. But since power is, for any government or nation, a heady wine, we do not add to the chances of peace by deliberately, through our own action, making the power of one particular nation completely overwhelming, especially a nation persuaded by its government that it is menaced by the very existence of the form of society prevailing outside its borders.

DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES OR VIOLENT CHANGE?

The issue is not one between socialism and capitalism. There is not a capitalist nation in the world which is not accepting increasing degrees of socialism. The issue is whether social development shall be carried out by the democratic processes, with agreement of the groups concerned achieved by open, fair, and decent discussion, or shall be imposed by the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which means the violence, both moral and physical, of small, tightly organized parties forming a new privileged class prepared to abolish the older political freedoms.

The issue is essentially political, not economic; at bottom, like most political issues, it is psychological—the desire of one party or sect to dominate its rivals, a human impulse now rationalized by a pretentious and misleading philosophy of historical necessity.

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OPA—Round Two

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, May 2

A CLUMSY remark blurted out by Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson has slowed the drive for a strong price-control bill in the Senate.

Anderson sat down at the Senate Banking Committee table last Wednesday with the avowed purpose of supporting price controls. Facing him was an uncommonly large number of Senators, twelve. The rest of the room was filled by the big bluff men who represent the farm lobbies in Washington.

Senator Taft

The Secretary, a tall, easygoing man, started out by reading his prepared statement. It began positively: "As long as the present inflationary pressures exist, strong price-control measures are the first essential toward preventing disastrous farm depression." It ended much more feebly: "As the situation now stands, the only safe course is to renew price-control legislation." Even the House of Representatives would go along on that.

Under questioning by the Senators Anderson grew a little uneasy, and not quite so sure about price controls. Alben Barkley, the Democratic majority leader, told of a stockman who normally slaughters seven thousand cattle a week and is now cut down to five hundred. Anderson shook his head sadly. Yes, that was common. That was why the Department of Agriculture reluctantly established new quotas—to channel cattle back to the legitimate slaughterers. He hoped this would work, but he added gloomily that the packers were not very hopeful.

Senator Bankhead, an old Southern Democrat and no friend of the OPA, pricked up his ears. He asked, "Suppose this slaughter quota does not work?"

The Secretary then blurted out, "We would have to try something else. One way would be to take off price controls on meat." He caught himself, and added hastily, "Of course, we wouldn't want to do that."

But the deed had been done. Senator Bankhead kept after him: "How long should the controls be tried until they are given up?" Anderson guessed about ninety days. He admitted, in answer to another question, that if meat controls were lifted, pork would go up to 70 cents a pound. But he airily dismissed rising food prices by saying, "The people aren't worrying about food prices. Why some people don't mind paying $1 a pound for butter."

The Secretary of Agriculture gave aid and comfort to the enemies of price control in another exchange. Senator Taft drily suggested that the OPA deliberately took controls off citrus fruits because it knew supplies were short and prices would fly up. Anderson blithely said yes, citrus growers did want ceilings off but did not want them taken off "at the time." Taft nodded his head grimly. Later he told reporters that the testimony of the Secretary of Agriculture was "very significant."

That same afternoon, Wednesday, the publicity men in the Department of Agriculture were busily trying to "clarify" the position of the Secretary. His words had been misconstrued.

Before this incident the drive to keep strong controls was steadily gaining momentum. All the desks and filing cabinets in one small room in the Senate Office Building are overflowing with postcards, letters, and telegrams. These are part of the avalanche of mail that has fallen on Capitol Hill since the wild night of April 17, when the House of Representatives went berserk on the OPA bill. In one week, April 21 to 27, the clerks in the office of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee counted 30,000 pieces of mail on the OPA. This was mail addressed just to the committee, not to individual members. The outpouring of grass-roots sentiment has been running about 98 per cent for and 2 per cent against the OPA.

In the long, dignified room next door the Senators on the committee are not unaware of the deluge of mail. There has been a subtle change in the way they ask questions of witnesses.

Even Senator Capehart of Indiana, who looks like a somewhat rundown, beaten-up kewpie doll, with a red curl at the top of his forehead, is no longer heckling the pro-OPA witnesses with such reckless abandon as he showed ten days ago. In those good old days the Senator used to smile nastily at the friends of the OPA and suggest that they were enemies of free enterprise. But the other day, after the mailman began dropping OPA letters in his office, Senator Capehart made a practically

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revolutionary statement, for him. He lightly said the House amendments were not all that could be desired, and suggested that perhaps price controls might stay until production of the items affected reached 200 per cent of the pre-war level.

Senator Millikin, another Republican who has had his little fun with the folks who want price control, would not even go as far as Capehart in fixing a definite percentage for ending controls. Millikin rebuked Capehart, saying, "I don't think you can de-control according to any numerical formula . . . but rather on current facts." Millikin politely asked William Green, of the A. F. of L., the witness of the moment, if he had any suggestions about how the price line could be held.

Even Taft, who seemed two weeks ago to have a confirmed distaste for all price controls, has remarked somewhat imperiously that the House went too far. He is not for all the amendments tacked on in the House.

The Republicans on the Senate committee are on a very hot seat. The House Republicans, led by Joe Martin, went down the line for the crippling amendments. (There were some notable exceptions.) The Senate Republicans are trying to absolve the party of blame for the night of April 17 while not completely repudiating their brethren in the House. Involved and delicate negotiations are made necessary by the even number of the year. Elections are coming.

Senators Taft and Millikin have taken the lead in searching for a compromise. They would like some magic figure that could be written into the bill and that would appear when price controls were no longer needed—or popular. Chester Bowles could then dissolve the OPA with salaams toward Congress.

The Republicans would like to get the credit for saving price controls in the Senate *and* for hastening the liquidation of OPA. At every hearing Taft and Millikin have been sounding out witnesses on some formula for removing controls.

The Administration Senators—until the Clinton Anderson testimony—have been sitting back with quiet smiles on their faces. They have privately advised Chester Bowles and Paul Porter not to back down an inch. But the gangling, pleasant Secretary of Agriculture has thrown a small monkey wrench into their plans.

Browder's Mission to Moscow

BY ROBERT BENDINER

BEFORE me is a document, until now confined strictly to Communist Party circles, that throws into sharp relief Earl Browder's mission to Moscow. This paper, in the light of which Browder's journey should be considered, is the full text of his defense against the accusations of his erstwhile comrades. It is a cautious plea, the defense of a man who, though bitter toward the leadership that has cast him into the pit of the damned, is far from ready to acknowledge the permanence of his interment. He is careful to preserve intact every tenet of the "line" that he carried out with zeal in the days of his power, and he clearly hopes that this same line will once again be operative.

It is this hope, in fact, that gives Browder's trip an importance far transcending both his personal fate and the factional rowing of the Communists, which normally would be their own concern and of small interest to the heathen. For Browder's hope can only be realized as part of a much larger change—a change in the Kremlin itself from a policy of lone-wolf defensiveness and suspicion of the Western capitalist powers to one of determined collaboration, involving the free give-and-take, the willingness to compromise, that characterizes the conduct of nations genuinely bent on subordinating differences for the sake of a broad objective.

Browder's visit—"to study political life" in the Soviet Union, as he puts it—implies at least the possibility of such a switch. It is unthinkable that Duclos, of the French Communist Party, would have launched the bitter attack that resulted in Browder's expulsion without the support, and probably even the instigation, of powerful figures in the Political Bureau of the party's Central Committee. It is equally naive to believe that without similarly lofty sanction the Soviet Union, fanatically cautious about admitting routine journalists, tourists, and salesmen, would accept into the country a man outlawed by the American Communist Party as "a social-imperialist," an "unreconstructed revisionist," a "renegade" given to "rotten liberal attitudes," and similar high crimes and misdemeanors.

The only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the Browder visit, therefore, is either that a major shift in policy has already been decided upon—and there is no indication whatever that such is the case—or that for the first time in a decade a major difference of opinion is now being threshed out within the walls of the Kremlin. The resolution of such a difference, hinted at by more than one competent observer, might well find its first expression in the success or failure of the Browder mission. With this acute possibility in mind, it is profitable

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to examine the Browder defense, which the party has managed to keep to itself and which Browder himself has rigidly refused to make public.

Eight months after his fall from the leadership of the party Browder was called before the Yonkers Club, presumably his local unit, to discuss his "relations with the party." On this occasion, February 1, 1946, Browder submitted a lengthy reply to charges brought up a month earlier at a Westchester County membership meeting. The accusations included political passivity, non-attendance at meetings, and the advancement and stubborn maintenance of "Keynesian ideas." To these charges the National Board subsequently added the accusations that Browder had "continuously resisted the program and decision of the convention," that "by refusing to accept any assignment from the party" he had "violated party discipline," that he had "carried on factional activity," that he had "adopted an equivocal attitude" at the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities," that he entertained an "enemy-class ideology," that he had become an "adviser to big business," and that he had dropped his "political passivity" only to embark on "attempts to involve certain comrades"—presumably in his Keynesian heresy—and to "broaden his contacts with individual members and sympathizers."

Much of the defense is hardly of general concern, though it is not lacking in human interest. To the charge of "political passivity," for example, Browder argued that having "received no invitation to participate in any form of political activity from the party leadership," he feared "to take any personal initiative in the matter, knowing that any such move . . . would bring charges of factionalism." But, the once lionized leader admitted:

> It is further true that I heard of a proposal by a member of the National Board that I should be given a job scrubbing floors in the National Office. If there had been any evidence that there existed a real need for my services in this capacity, I would gladly have given them. However, since the proposal was rather one of granting pension to a needy but worthless former employee, I did not see fit to take this suggestion seriously.

To the graver accusation of Keynesian heresy, Browder pleaded insufficient acquaintance with the writings of the British economist "to pass upon the question definitively," and contented himself with pointing out that "even Lenin found many points of agreement with bourgeois writers on imperialism, particularly Hobson." But he denied that he had "advanced and stubbornly maintained any ideas whatsoever, either Keynesian or otherwise, since the last party convention, except the decision of that convention." The characterization of his views as "enemy-class ideology" he scorned as "preposterous babbling, a parrot-like repetition of the formula by which the Trotskyites were condemned in the Soviet Union," though in their case, he pointed out, carefully preserving his status as a Stalinist in good standing, the formula was justly applied "after years of patient and thorough refutation of all their views, and after they had plunged into violent sabotage, armed rebellion, and conspiracy with the fascist enemy abroad."

Passing over the purely intramural aspects of the defense, we come to the real core of the matter, to wit, Browder's insistence that, far from having violated the decisions adopted by the last party convention, he was attempting to preserve them from the onslaught of William Z. Foster and his followers. The principal decision, Browder says, was "that the American people resolutely support every effort of the Truman Administration to carry forward the policies of the Roosevelt-labor-Democratic coalition."

Again and again he reverts to this theme:

> The only charge that might lie against me in relation to the convention decisions is that I failed to speak up to criticize and oppose the steps taken by Foster, supported by his associates in the leadership, to withdraw from the Roosevelt-labor-Democratic coalition and to break up the Truman Administration *at a moment when it was improving its implementation of Roosevelt's foreign policy* and aligning itself with labor in the biggest inner political struggle since 1944. . . .
>
> What has happened to these . . . key decisions given to the party by its national convention? They have been completely abandoned, and in their place there has been developed in practice, in life, the opposite strategy of *breaking up the Roosevelt-labor-Democratic coalition, dealing with the Truman Administration as the chief enemy* instead of as the governmental expression of the coalition of which we are part and support. Has this right-about-face by the Communist Party, revising the convention resolution, been forced upon us because the other parties to the coalition have broken it up or because the Truman Administration has gone over to the reactionaries? *No, the Communist Party is the only group of serious importance to leave the coalition,* and the Truman Administration is under the sharpest assault from the reactionaries without shirking the issues which keep it at the head of an ever-more-consolidated Roosevelt-labor-Democratic coalition. [Italics mine.]

Wedded to the belief that the war-time alliance can be prolonged through the years of reconstruction and wholly opposed to the Duclos program of militant intransigence on all fronts, Browder bitterly attacks Foster for having "called upon Wallace and Ickes to resign from Truman's Cabinet, knowing that such a development would wreck the Administration and with it all prospects for the most favorable outcome of the strike movement, *as well as wrecking the favorable trend of international relations*" (my italics).

There is the essence of the matter—the cleavage that Browder's trip to Moscow indicates has now extended to the Kremlin itself: long-term collaboration between the

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Soviets and the capitalist governments of the West, or a continuation of the present cycle of suspicion, truculence, distrust, and still deeper suspicion. The Truman Administration, I believe, genuinely wants to see that cycle broken, and it does not seem too far-fetched to read that desire in the ease with which Browder obtained a passport valid for the Soviet Union. After all, it is not a routine matter to grant this privilege to a man with a prison record—especially when that record was acquired precisely for violation of passport regulations.

Czechoslovakia's Rebirth

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

II

Paris, April 30

ON HIS return from Moscow, where he had signed a trade treaty with the Soviet Union, Dr. Ripka, the Minister for Foreign Trade, was able to give his colleagues in the Cabinet convincing assurances about Russia's attitude toward his country. At no time did Dr. Ripka detect any sign of Soviet desire to interfere in Czechoslovak politics, either domestic or international. The treaty took into account the reciprocal interests of both countries; it was not a settlement dictated by a great power to a small power. The industries of Czechoslovakia, which already are beginning to struggle with the problem of markets, can now plan their production in such a way as to send the Soviet Union many products of which it is short. The opportunities are great, and the doors stand wide open. In order to improve transport the Russians will return to Czechoslovakia for use on the Danube all the vessels seized during the war. Prices of goods exchanged will meet world price levels when these are available; on unquoted goods the prices will be fixed by mutual agreement. The financial clauses are extraordinarily elastic, combining the advantages of clearing with that of payment through the foreign exchanges. But even more than the positive advantages achieved by the treaty, it was the spirit in which it was negotiated that led Dr. Ripka, one of the most conservative members of the Cabinet, to say in a press conference: "Certain Western circles seem not to understand how present economic developments naturally lead to close collaboration with the Soviet Union. It is sheer misinterpretation of the actual relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union if it is presumed that Czechoslovak foreign trade is under the control of the Soviet Union. I wish that everywhere and in all circumstances our trade were respected to the extent it is in Moscow."

Ripka had a long talk with Stalin. He reported the Soviet leader in good physical shape and "full of realistic optimism regarding Russian reconstruction and confident that the obstacles to international cooperation will be overcome." Concerning Czechoslovakia Ripka reinforced the view expressed to me by other high Czech officials and even some foreign diplomats. It really looks as if Moscow accepted President Benes's view of Czechoslovakia as a kind of bridge between Eastern and Western Europe—a role that can be filled only if Prague remains independent. I know that in many European diplomatic circles the President's conviction is considered naive, and he is even ridiculed for imagining himself able to escape Russian domination. But certain facts cannot be denied. In neighboring countries the Soviet occupation armies remain at almost their original strength, while in Czechoslovakia the four hundred thousand Russian soldiers who were left at the end of the war have been reduced to two thousand, according to figures given me by Foreign Minister Masaryk. Already this places Czechoslovakia in a privileged position. It is not only that the withdrawal of the Russian forces has relieved the national budget of an almost unbearable burden; what is more important, it has removed the ill feeling that the presence of an occupation army always creates.

The trade treaty with Moscow has also placed Czechoslovakia in a comfortable financial position. When I talked to Prime Minister Fierlinger about the possibility of a loan from the United States, he reacted coolly to the idea of following other European countries on their pilgrimage to Washington in search of money. He did not seem particularly interested in getting a loan which might result in an attempt, direct or indirect, to interfere with Czechoslovakia's socialist program. Not that his government intends to push the nationalization policy through without considering legitimate foreign interests, but the Czechs prefer to do this of their own accord as part of their traditional policy of fulfilling international obligations, not as an act of submission in exchange for credits or loans. They are firm in their belief that only by moving toward a socialist economy can the country secure a better future for all the people; they will allow none to interfere with this purpose.

On the other hand, Czechoslovakia will resist any effort to make it go faster or farther than it wants to go. The social revolution finds here its natural frontier in the field of individual liberty. Apparently that fact is accepted by Moscow as well as by the Czech Communists. It was the most prominent Communist member of the government, Vice-Premier Gottwald, who told me that there is not now the slightest censorship of the press,

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that freedom of assembly is even more complete than before the war, that, as I could see from the election posters hanging all over Prague, every political party has its own personality and the right to express its own point of view. To an amazing degree Czechoslovakia is putting into practice the doctrine so long preached by progressives of the necessity to harmonize wide social reform with respect for the individual.

The job which confronted Benes when he came back to his country was not an easy one. It was particularly difficult in the domain of foreign policy. Here Jan Masaryk shares with the President the credit for creating a situation of reciprocal confidence with Russia while maintaining the old ties with the West. Before I left Prague I attended a dinner given by the French embassy for Léon Jouhaux, who had come to participate in the trade-union congress. Many important Czechoslovak labor leaders took part. It was the first real sign since the war of renewed French-Czech friendship. Jouhaux spoke with great sincerity, admitting all the reasons from 1938 on for Czech distrust of the West but explaining at the same time what France stands for and how it feels today.

The Czech trade-union leader, Zapotocky, replied with equal frankness. He said that if the France of 1938 had survived the war there could be no hope of good relations; with the new France which had emerged from the liberation, purged of the corruption and reaction that produced Munich, there must be not only friendship but the closest cooperation. No one can expect Czechoslovakia to become anti-Russian or allow itself to be used for anti-Russian intrigue. The Soviet power is too great; and also the feeling of kinship and gratitude is too strong. Russia had no share in Munich, and Russia freed Czechoslovakia. These things will never be forgotten. But close relations with Russia, the Czechs believe, should not prove an obstacle to genuine collaboration with the West in the supreme task of securing Europe against a repetition of the catastrophes of 1914 and 1939.

[*The first part of Mr. del Vayo's report on Czechoslovakia appeared last week.*]

A Plea for Puerto Rico

BY LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

Writer, editor, and president of the Puerto Rican senate

SHALL Puerto Rico be free—free to live, not to die in an economic vacuum? Shall the United States continue to be classified as a colonial empire because it insists, for no good reason, on continuing a colonial system of government in Puerto Rico? These are two questions on which Puerto Rico and the United States constantly clash; and yet their basic interests are identical. Puerto Rico does not want to be a colony. The United States would benefit from not having colonies. It is time for this agreement to be expressed in common action. The undeniable economic fact that Puerto Rico cannot survive without a free market in the United States should not be used as a reason for thwarting the desire of both parties to liquidate Puerto Rico's colonial status. If that is the reality, let us exercise some creative statesmanship to solve the problem by recognizing that reality. If the United States says to Puerto Rico, "We give you liberty *and* death," it will be choosing against its own interests to leave the problem unsolved.

Puerto Rico today is facing three major tasks which it hopes to be able to accomplish in accordance with the democratic principles for which eighty thousand Puerto Ricans gave service in the war. These tasks are to improve the basic economic situation, to settle the island's future political status, and to consider who shall be its next governor, after Rexford Tugwell retires in July.

The economic situation is the result of economic injustices, poor natural resources, and a large and growing population. Only half of the island's 3,500 square miles are tillable. So far as is known, the subsoil holds no resources of value. The population of 2,100,000—580 per square mile—is increasing at the rate of 55,000 a year. By 1960 the particularly hard-working stork assigned to Puerto Rico, aided by a declining death rate, will have filled the island with three million human beings.

For a long time Puerto Rico's population and production increased together. Then, in 1934, production stopped increasing, while the population continued to grow. In 1934 we had 1,600,000 inhabitants. Now we have half a million more, with about the same production. How do we get along? Artificial federal aid and war expenditures, coinciding with a more liberal attitude in Washington, have helped. Moreover, since 1940 Puerto Rico has had a people's government—ratified by huge majorities in 1944—which has passed legislation designed both to increase production and to distribute more equitably what is produced. During these past five years we have had no more political power than we had before, but the liberal views of President Roosevelt and now of President Truman have allowed us to take certain vigorous measures to improve economic conditions.

Since we must look forward to having a population of

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three million in 1960, the hard but by no means impossible task before us is to increase production, under conditions of fair distribution, not only to the point where the present unemployment can be absorbed but to the point where the constant increase in population can be supported. And further, to the point where no federal aid is needed. And finally, to the point where the minimum annual income per family reaches about $700, which in Puerto Rico is the level where the stork becomes careful, the birth rate declines, and the stabilization of population begins. This hard job calls for intensive use of the land and for industrialization. Quite possibly we cannot reach our goal by 1960. But we feel confident that given sufficient time we can do it. The present government is working constantly toward this end.

The problem of our political status must be solved because the Puerto Ricans are too proud and politically too mature to be governed any longer as a colony. It must be solved also because we have had the political authority to tackle our economic problem in recent years only through the tolerance of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations and the magnificent spirit of Governor Tugwell. We have no right to risk our future, the very life of our people, on such fortuitous circumstances. Nor has the United States the right.

The American people clearly have no interest in holding Puerto Rico as a colony—at least they have no intelligent interest in so doing. Possession of Puerto Rico may benefit a few absentee American companies, but it certainly does not affect the standard of living of the American people. (I assume that the United States will always have military and naval bases wherever they are necessary for national and hemispheric security.) On the other hand, if Puerto Rico is held as a colony, the United States must be classified as a colonial empire, which is certainly a liability for a nation whose world policy can be so greatly aided by the affection and confidence of dependent peoples.

There is, of course, more than one way of abolishing Puerto Rico's colonial status; the most obvious would be the granting of independence. But no political set-up can endure in Puerto Rico if it prevents the economic development that is necessary to overcome the existing poverty and safeguard our people from collapse. This means that for many years—as many as are needed for intensive industrial development—free trade relations with the United States must continue. It means that for a shorter period, until industrial development has reached a certain level, the federal aid on which our people have become dependent must be continued, diminishing as production increases. I believe the United States should do this because for forty-seven years it has been responsible for economic conditions here and has allowed the people of Puerto Rico no real political control. Apart from that, it would be eminently wise for the United States, for its own sake, to set an example in the treatment of a dependent people.

When Puerto Ricans present this point of view, they frequently receive the shortsighted answer that if they get political control they will be deprived of economic support, and if they keep the economic support they will not have political independence. Aside from the responsibility the United States has incurred and aside from its intelligent interest in abolishing the colonial system in Puerto Rico, the chaos that would result if independence were granted without the economic relations indicated should influence the United States Congress not to place insurmountable obstacles in the way of solving the problem of political status.

As for the governorship, the appointment of a man unsympathetic to the policies voted for by the Puerto Rican people would create incalculable confusion. In the last elections in Puerto Rico Governor Tugwell received a two-to-one indorsement against the most virulent opposition ever encountered by an insular administration. Our people want Governor Tugwell to stay. But if his post becomes vacant, as now appears probable, we hold that Puerto Rico is too mature politically to be ruled by a governor appointed out of a clear sky—or a clouded one—by influences completely alien to Puerto Rican democracy. Nor are we to be flattered by the mere appointment of a man born in Puerto Rico. We would rather have a Chinese with a policy supported by the people than a Puerto Rican with a policy repudiated by the people. We are interested in Puerto Rican democracy, in Puerto Rican well-being, not in the accident of Puerto Rican birth. This being our attitude toward a Puerto Rican *qua* Puerto Rican, it is unquestionably also our attitude towards a continental *qua* continental.

Our legislature has passed a bill calling for a vote of the whole Puerto Rican electorate on the question of whom they wish to recommend to the President of the United States as the next governor, in case the vacancy occurs before the status problem is definitely settled. If influential American Senators, organizations, and committees can make recommendations to the President regarding the governor of Puerto Rico, it seems logical that the people of Puerto Rico themselves should have a chance to express themselves on a matter of such vital importance to them.

Before the question of status is settled, it must be determined under what economic conditions Puerto Rican civilization can survive. It should then be agreed that such economic conditions will be established, whatever political status the people of Puerto Rico may vote for. Then the United States would not be in the dubious position of offering Puerto Rico liberty *and* death. Don't give us a tombstone with the inscription "Here lies the corpse of a free man." Give us a banner that says, "Here lives a free man, forever a friend of the American people."

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

"Something for Silver"

THE Congressional delegations from the seven mountain states, however varied their political composition, can always be relied upon to do "something for silver." This is, perhaps, the only subject on which Senator Murray of Montana, one of the most progressive men on Capitol Hill, is likely to find himself in accord with Senator Johnson of Colorado, one of the most reactionary. I am not quite sure whether a purely economic interpretation of this phenomenon is adequate. Of course the twenty-five big corporations which control 80 per cent of the silver output in the seven states, their employees, and the small operators and prospectors do swing considerable political influence. But silver provides a relatively small proportion of the income of the area; in Nevada, for instance, the divorce industry plays a much larger part in the economy. So perhaps we should conclude that the fervor of the silver bloc reflects not only material considerations but also that *mystique* which has attached itself to the precious metals from time immemorial.

Whether or not this explains the emotion which silver arouses, it certainly does not justify the privileged position which pressure tactics have secured for it. In 1934 the Silver Purchase Act directed the Treasury to buy silver until its holdings were equivalent to 25 per cent of United States monetary reserves or until the price reached $1.29 an ounce. As a result of this legislation the world price of the metal rose, production was stimulated, hoards were released in Asia, and silver poured into Washington from all directions. Even the length of the Treasury's purse was not sufficient to support the price in the face of the increasing supplies available. The world price, which had risen from an average of 34 cents an ounce during 1933 to one of 64 cents during 1935, thereafter fell rapidly, reaching a low point of 38 cents in 1940.

American producers, however, were fully protected. After the passage of the Silver Purchase Act the price paid by the Treasury for domestic metal was raised to 77 cents an ounce, and it remained at this level until the end of 1937. It was then dropped to 64 cents, which still left it far above the world price. However, the silver bloc, feeling that any relapse was a mortal insult to an immortal metal, went to work and in 1939 succeeded in passing a new measure setting a statutory price for silver of 71 cents an ounce, or practically double the free-market quotation at the time. At this level it has remained ever since.

During the war the industrial demand for silver expanded very considerably. It was found that a small amount could replace a much larger proportion of scarce tin in solders, and it was also used for aircraft electrical installations. At the same time enlarged incomes created a bigger demand for silverware and jewelry. Manufacturers, however, could only buy foreign silver, since the domestic output all gravitated to the Treasury, and available supplies proved inadequate. By order of the WPB imports were reserved exclusively for war production, leaving non-essential manufacturers wholly dependent on remelted metal. To remedy this situation the Green act was passed, not without much opposition from the silver bloc, permitting the sale of silver from the Treasury's free reserves at 71 cents an ounce for a limited period. This compared with an OPA ceiling on foreign silver of 45 cents.

Everybody was fairly satisfied until last August, when all controls on the metal were lifted, starting a terrific scramble for 45-cent silver, supplies of which were quite unequal to the demand. Consequently the OPA was compelled to lift the ceiling on foreign silver to 71 cents an ounce. Then at the end of 1945 the Green act expired, and consuming industries once again found themselves being squeezed. The demand for their products was terrific. In 1945 they absorbed 145,000,000 ounces—nearly five times as much as in a good pre-war year—and 1946 promised to be better if only they could buy the metal. But 1945 production in the Americas was only 127,300,000 ounces, of which United States output, absorbed wholly by the Treasury, accounted for 28,300,000. Nor was all the remainder available, for foreign owners of silver, not surprisingly, held on to their stocks in the confident hope of a new rise in prices.

Since the beginning of the year industrial users of silver have been agitating for renewal of the Green act so that idle Treasury reserves of unmonetized silver, amounting to some 245,000,000 ounces, could again be purchased. The silver bloc took a strong stand on this proposal. With a straight face Senator Johnson of Colorado charged the silversmiths "with raiding the Treasury," and the president of the Sunshine Mining Corporation, one of the largest silver producers, declared that "the profit which may inure to the Treasury [by monetizing on the basis of $1.29 silver bought at 71 cents an ounce] . . . should not be used as a subsidy to benefit a relatively small group engaged in the manufacture and sale of luxury items." Considering the way the silver interests have battened on the Treasury, the statement shows a breath-taking gall.

But it is a very profitable variety of gall, for after a long fight behind the scenes a compromise has apparently been reached in the form of a proposed amendment to the Treasury–Post Office supply bill ordering the Treasury to pay silver producers 90 cents an ounce and sell to manufacturers at the same price, plus charges. This is to continue for two years, after which the full monetary value of $1.29 is to be paid to the mines. As Senator McCarran of Nevada put it, "This does not mean the end of the long fight which began with 'the crime of 1873' [when the silver dollar ceased to be legal tender], but it brings the end of that fight in sight." One would like to know at just what point the silver bloc will consider its work finished. After all, an effective price of $1.29 represents merely the sacred 16-to-1 ratio with gold at its pre-devaluation figure of $20.67. With gold at $35 an ounce, the ratio calls for a silver price of $2.19! That no doubt is the ultimate, if at present unavowed, goal toward which the silver bloc will proceed unless the public, growing tired of the whole precious nonsense, insists that in the future silver must stand on its own feet as a useful but secular commodity.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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BOOKS and the ARTS

By the Rivers of Babylon

LAY MY BURDEN DOWN. A Folk History of Slavery. Edited by B. A. Botkin. University of Chicago Press. $3.50.

"LAY MY BURDEN DOWN" is another of the fine legacies of the short-lived Federal Writers' Project. Over two thousand ex-slave narratives collected by Project interviewers were collated and arranged in seventeen volumes by the Library of Congress Project under the direction of B. A. Botkin. From this vast store, of prime interest to historian, sociologist, folklorist, and creative writer, Dr. Botkin has prepared for the general reader a selected "folk history of slavery," concentrating on oral, literary, and narrative values. The editor of *Folk-Say,* the regional annual that appeared in the thirties, and of the best-selling "Treasury of American Folklore" has chalked up another success in creative selection and integration.

The book is a new thing. It is unlike the reminiscences of ex-slaves that glutted the market with their imitations of Thomas Nelson Page's popular aunties and uncles, who alternated spirituals of adoration for old marse and missis with the blues of freedom. Slave loyalty and gratefulness are here, of course, since these many narratives include so many kinds of people, white and black. But they are by no means the ex-slave's chief concerns, and their opposites are here in plenty. Dr. Botkin is aware that in spite of instructions against editing and censorship, narratives were retouched; that the interviewers could yield to personal prejudices; that the informant, though nominally free, generally lived in a shadow of slavery where canniness pays off better than candor. Interviewers found the quick jump-back, the thrust and parry, the shocker stated with utmost blandness. One old man philosophized: "Lots of old slaves closes the door before they tell the truth about their days of slavery. When the door is open, they tell how kind their masters was and how rosy it all was. You can't blame them for this, because they had plenty of early discipline making them cautious."

The compulsion of the defender of the Old South to enumerate kind masters and that of the attacker to enumerate mean ones are not imperative here. "Lay My Burden Down" is no series of atrocities and certainly no idyl. If a few ex-slaves preen themselves on their easy life with quality white folks, the ease and quality run thin before the tale goes far. Miss Cornelia, for instance, "the finest woman in the world," would "throw dimes to the nigger children just like feeding chickens" on Sunday mornings; her finest act, it seemed, was to give out bread and butter between meals. One "bold, driving, pushing master but not a hard-hearted one" deliberately shot a slave woman in the cotton field. Probably more effective in conveying the tragedy of slavery than the inevitable accounts of sadism is the normal callous barbarity, casually administered and casually received. "Like I say, my master was a preacher and a kind man, but he had been taught that they was just like his work hosses, and if they act like his hosses they git along all right."

"Does I 'member much 'bout the slavery times? Well, there is no way for me to disremember unless I die." The men and women who throng these remembrances are not walking allegories: the whites are not the old-stock gentlemen or the crinolined belles of the legend; the slaves are not the grinning, shuffling half-wits or the corpulent embodiments of loyalty and self-forgetfulness. We hear of slaves who cringed and of others who would never "take low." Slaves were always running off to the woods; one Alabama slave even hoped to meet up with "that Harriet Tubman woman." Few of the joys are described that made one critic of the plantation tradition liken the Old South to a perpetual Mardi Gras. The workaday world comes clear; the tanning, knitting, carding, spinning, cloth-dyeing, shoemaking, blacksmithing, plowing, hoeing, clearing of new land, the cultivating of tobacco, cotton, rice, and indigo, and the cooking of the famed diet of Dixie—all are specifically here. House servants are jostled by field hands, skilled artisans, and hired-out slaves whose income bolstered the pretensions of the gentlefolk. Large plantations are infrequent in this book; here instead are the not-so-big houses sheltering hard-pressed, pestered middle-class people on the make. We see the Southern frontier moving from the upland hills to Texas and the Indian Territory; we have records of masters as various as F. F. V.'s and Creek Indians. Hunting, fishing, church-going, preaching, politicking, gambling, dramming, wenching, making a living, wasting a living; life in the backwoods, the colonnaded mansions, the city houses, the slave quarters, the slave pens—all are recalled. And suddenly across the workaday fabric will flash the bright colors of melodrama—quarrels, fights, and murders. A slave boy in revenge for punishment reveals his mistress's clandestine love affair to the enraged master; a bitter woman rails because the children of the seamstress look so much like her husband; a black giant "not scared of nothing" is shot down "with a hole in his chest as big as your fist."

Unglamorized but gratefully remembered is the coming of the Yankees; the freedom they brought overcame the crude propaganda against them. Pictures of corncribs and ginhouses burning, of stock being driven away, of proud masters and mistresses humbled, are repeated. Hearing that the Negroes were free, some masters got sick unto death; one "bent himself over and never did straighten his body no more." A few slaves are remembered as staying on, "but the rest was just like birds, they just flew." Hard times did not end with the war, however, for the Ku Kluxers, peonage, and share-cropping took up where the hated "patterollers" and slavery left off. The insults and indignities of the present occasionally make the past more attractive. Some ex-slaves wish bygones to be bygones. "Most of 'em is dead and gone now. No matter whether they were Southern white folks or Northern white folks they is dead now." Others share the belief that "God is punishing some of them old suckers and their children right now for the way they use to treat us." A surprising number, considering their age and section, sympathize with the young folks who are hunting a better place

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and more freedom: "The first war was 'bout freedom and the war right after it was equalization." And to the question that is too often asked, one slave recognizes the "worriment" of the present, and admits that in slavery he had no worriment. "But I takes the freedom," he says. Almost all the ex-slaves, contrary to the legend, are of his mind. "They done seed both sides."

If a few of the reminiscences pull the long bow, or are jumpy and incoherent, or ingratiating, or told with tongue in cheek, still the total impact of "Lay My Burden Down" is one of convincing reality. Several of the tragic anecdotes have an elemental starkness; the comic yarns have a folk humor that minstrelsy has sadly corrupted. The dialect is simplified, stressing truth to cadence and idiom instead of sprinkled "wuzes," "oves," "disses," "dats," and inverted commas. It is salty, pungent folksay, beside which Joel Chandler Harris and Paul Laurence Dunbar seem too sweet and arch. Together with the fine photographs—the one on the jacket evokes the tragic reality of slavery as much as any picture can—the speech helps to restore human dignity to people whose history was nearly ruined by sentimentality and condescension and downright lying.

STERLING A. BROWN

Soap, Soap, Toujours Soap

RADIO'S SECOND CHANCE. By Charles A. Siepmann. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

THE public, sitting beside its radios, is learning not to feel like a small boy getting a free peek at a ball game through a hole in the fence. It is beginning to realize that it is a king at a command performance. For it owns the air waves; it invests $25 in receiving sets to every $1 that is invested in transmitting equipment; and it gives away—free—three-year broadcasting licenses to applicants selected for their ability and their pledge to serve the public. These licensees reap, on the average, an annual profit of $2.23 for every $1 of investment value. In return, it is not impolite to ask for decent programs. Parents are tired of seeing the work of home and school undone by radio. Women's clubs are trying to impress the networks with the high literacy rate in the United States. Soldiers who have returned from abroad have been spoiled by good programs served up without commercials. (The hypochondriac groans that we hear from pill salesmen every morning would probably have sent a good part of the army out on sick call. In fact, that very technique was used in German- and Japanese-language programs beamed to the enemy to encourage malingering.)

The whole sad story of the program trends of recent years has recently been told by the Federal Communications Commission in a copiously documented little blue book entitled "Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees." Whether that report will become the basis upon which future station grants will be made, or whether it will merely become another praiseworthy addition to the National Archives, depends entirely upon the amount of interest which the public exhibits.

"Radio's Second Chance," by Charles A. Siepmann, will

5 *men who shaped the ideas of nations*

Out of myths of the past and dreams of the future, national prophets have created ideal fatherlands. No matter how unreal historically or politically, these dream nations shape the policies of real nations and provide the emotional fervor which leads men to fight and die. In his new book, Professor Kohn discusses five nineteenth-century men whose thinking helped to form the national ideals of their peoples. They are:

JOHN STUART MILL, *prophet of English liberalism*

MICHELET, *fervent apostle of the French Revolution*

MAZZINI, *who created the Italian nation from a vague hope in the hearts of men*

TREITSCHKE, *founder of the cult of the hero in Germany*

DOSTOEVSKY, *who roused Russian faith in a semi-Asiatic autocracy*

Hans Kohn is also the author of *The Idea of Nationalism,* which the *New York Times* called "the most brilliant, all-inclusive and incisive analysis of the ideological origins of nationalism which has yet appeared in any language."

Prophets and Peoples

By HANS KOHN

$2.50 at your bookstore

MACMILLAN

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be an effective catalyst to such interest. In the main it is a more forceful and colorful rewriting of the blue book itself, using adjectives and revealing names in a manner that would be indecorous in a government report. In addition, Siepmann discusses several subjects not covered in the report, most notably the politics of radio regulation. He makes some acute observations about the strong pressures which buffet the FCC, which he describes as "Washington's No. 1 whipping boy" complete with fear neuroses.

Mr. Siepmann bluntly accuses the broadcasters of a "betrayal of trust" for having "abdicated their prime responsibility to regulate the number and distribution of sponsored programs so as to insure . . . a diversity of programs." The station licensee is primarily responsible to the public, but he often ignores his own community, plugs into a network, and forgets the program problem. The network in turn yields its program-production functions to advertising agencies, which now not only write the commercials but fill in the entire hour. Since advertising agencies have no pledge to the public to fulfil and are by their very nature interested in selling goods rather than in providing public service, the presentation of a well-balanced broadcast schedule becomes a mere by-product of a peddling operation. If an advertiser thinks his best customers are morons with low sales resistance, as the soapmakers do, then he will prefer a program that will attract five morons to one that will attract ten more critical listeners. Siepmann also points out that some agencies have grown so powerful that networks fear to offend them by rejecting a proffered program, even though they would rather not have it. The pledge to the public is locked up in a safe in the legal department. The situation is summed up in a wisecrack that has gone around Radio City. A—— B——, a brilliant radio director who managed army radio stations in the South Pacific, recently returned to his old job at NBC but threw it up after a month. "Hell," he said, "all NBC does these days is ring the chimes every fifteen minutes."

JERRY SPINGARN

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Pure and Threadbare Theseus

ANDRE GIDE goes back to the formula of his old "Prométhée Mal Enchainé (which he oddly called a *sotie*)—ancient myth in ancient garb—but with a style so wilfully modern that the effect is keenly ironical. In his brief "Thésée" (Pantheon Books, $2), the hero relates his fabulous adventures in the even tones of *un vieux Monsieur très bien*. Yet this veil of conventional elegance is shimmering. Behind it we feel rather than see the primitive and the timeless.

Shades of Racine! Ariadne, who inspired the marvelous couplet: "Ariane, ma sœur! de quel amour blessée/Vous mourutes aux bords ou vous futes laissée!"—Ariadne becomes an amusing literary snob, with whom Theseus discusses subtle points of prosody. The book, I take it, is *pure* art, gratuitous, uncontaminated with purpose, intention, or meaning. All resemblances between the author's remarks and a philosophical system are purely coincidental. Perhaps with the exception of the seventh and eighth chapters: in these the symbols—Daedalus and Icarus—are obvious, and expressed with power.

Gide will not be tied to the reader by Ariadne's thread. In the serene evening of a long career, which had its hours of anguish, he still wants to remain untamed, *disponible*, ready for any trick of fame or fate.

ALBERT GUERARD

Knight-Errant-on-Call

"MAN-EATERS OF KUMAON" (Oxford, $2) may turn out to be one of the classics in the not overcrowded field of hunting literature; and its author, Jim Corbett, appears to be something of a museum piece himself. Though he served as a major in the British army he seems to have spent most of his life acting as a sort of knight-errant-on-call, ever ready to answer the summons of any remote Indian village and, in the grand manner, to rid it of the local terror. Man-eating tigers are so real a scourge that one is known to have killed more than four hundred persons before being disposed of; but Corbett very carefully preserves his amateur standing, with the result that his accounts are full of all the quaint punctilios of the sportsman and are in other ways also very *pukka sahib*. A former viceroy who vouches for the author recommends the book " to any genuine sportsman who wishes to earn by his own efforts the credit of shooting a tiger" as contrasted with "the so-called sportsman who feels some pride in killing a tiger when all that he has done is to fire from a safe position"; Corbett himself, before undertaking his first major adventure, made it a condition that the offer of a reward be withdrawn so that he might escape the danger of being regarded as a reward hunter. What makes the book really remarkable, however, is the straightforward, vigorous, unadorned narrative of the sort that most simple soldier men would like to write but that very few can. If, as is by no means certain, Major Corbett is a readin' man as well as a shootin' man, his favorite book may well be something in the All-Gaul-is-divided-into-three-parts style.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Agricultural Maladjustments

THEODORE W. SCHULTZ is one of our ablest and most liberal agricultural economists. His present book, "Agriculture in an Unstable Economy" (McGraw-Hill, $2.75), prepared for the Committee for Economic Development, seeks a new basis for farm policy and in so doing makes an important contribution to our thinking on one of the nation's major economic and social problems.

Mr Schultz argues that it is not enough to correct the maladjustments within agriculture; that it is important to recognize the maladjustments between farming and the rest of society. The difference in pace and in production cycles and the instability of the business and industrial economy tend to complicate the modern farm situation, and require an agricultural policy that will serve the national interest and place the welfare of farm people on the same footing as the welfare of other groups. Such a policy would recognize that a large share of population replacement comes from the country, that American commercial agriculture has tended to overproduction in certain commodities, to under-supply in

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others, and away from diversification. It would seek a revised pricing system to correct this basic situation and thus to eliminate the twin difficulties of overproduction and underemployment which lie at the heart of agriculture's problem. Mr. Schultz contends that continuing the present parity-price policy, which is so vigorously fought for by the staple crop interests in the farm bloc, will cause an over-supply in staples like cotton, wheat, and perhaps fats after we get out of the immediate post-war period of scarcities. He would substitute as a long-term measure the forward support-price system used during the war. Accurate price expectations would thus help stabilize agriculture and direct production as needed.

"Agriculture in an Unstable Economy" is definitely a challenge to thinking about an important social problem. We should not go on tolerating a situation in which the effort of farmers earns far less, relatively, than human effort earns in other parts of our economy. Mr. Schultz is clear on this, and his book should contribute much to the making of future national policy.

P. ALSTON WARING

The Atomic Economist

WHAT DOLLARS WILL BE WORTH in the coming atomic age, according to Dr. Virgil Jordan, will depend "hardly at all on labor." A reader who pays $1.50 for this book of seventy pages (large type) will feel that this is already true. Dr. Jordan's little "Manifesto for the Atomic Age" (Rutgers, $1.50) touches ever so briefly on several curious and sometimes conflicting themes: to wit, that the machine liberated men from feudalism but that the atomic age, which flowed out of that initiative, will carry men right back to feudalism in the form of subservience to the absolute state; that the abundance to be afforded by our new alchemy will kill us with sheer boredom; that "unlimited government has emerged as the universal victor in this war"—note the full-employment bill; that men may seek compensation for the "boredom of a push-button world in the contemplation or pursuit of some hereafter"; and that the "new age of alchemy" has already "substituted government for God." Dr. Jordan, who is president of the National Industrial Conference Board, turns a rich alliterative phrase—for example, "the process of compulsory collective consumption of the produce poured out by the atomic alchemy of the American cornucopia." The book may be read in thirty minutes and forgotten in half of that.

ROBERT BENDINER

Drums in the Fanatic Heart

THIS THIRD INSTALMENT of Sean O'Casey's autobiographical memoir "Drums Under the Windows" (Macmillan, $4.50) covers the period from the time when the author began to do a man's work as a laborer through the days of the Easter Rising. Impressionistic, expressionistic, this chronicle has more life than sense, and more vigor and vividness than coherence, especially when its exuberance ravels out, or splurges on, into a rather shameless imitation of the manner of "Finnegans Wake." Forthright in praise and blame, the author leaves no doubt, for instance, that he despised the Countess Markiewitz and Douglass Hyde, and admired Dr. Michael O'Hickey and the Reverend E. M.

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Griffin. O'Casey is no trimmer or hedger; whatever the latest rumors and allegations of his political conversion, an uneasy convert he must be, surely, with that rebel and fanatic heart! But who wants an Irishman with control?

Clean daft they are, every mother's son of them; but God send us more such madmen, and our sober counselors their gift of speech, the high style of the language-loving poor.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

FICTION IN REVIEW

I FIND it difficult to determine how much of my distaste for Eudora Welty's new book, "Delta Wedding" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.75), is dislike of its literary manner and how much is resistance to the culture out of which it grows and which it describes so fondly. But actually, I think, Miss Welty's style and her cultural attitude are not to be separated. It is impossible for me to conceive of a Northern or Western or, for that matter, a European or an Australian or an African scene that could provoke an exacerbation of poeticism to equal Miss Welty's in this novel. Compared to Miss Welty's sensibility, the sensibility of a Katherine Mansfield, a Sylvia Townsend Warner, a Christina Stead, or an Edita Morris—to name some of the writers, all of them women, notable in our time for the delicacy of their intensities—presents itself as a crude, corporeal thing indeed. Dolls' houses, birds, moonlight, snow, the minutiae of vulnerable young life and the sudden revelations of nature may have their distressingly persistent way of agitating the modern female literary psyche in whatever climate or social context; but it seems to me that only on a Southern plantation could the chance remark of a gardener to the effect that he wished there "wouldn't be a rose in de world" set the lady of the house to "trembling . . . as at some impudence."

It is out of tremulousnesses like this, as a matter of fact, that the whole of Miss Welty's novel is built. Dramatically speaking, nothing happens in "Delta Wedding." Miss Welty is telling the story of seven days in the life of the Fairchild family of Mississippi: it is the week in which Dabney, the seventeen-year-old daughter of the house, is being married to her father's overseer. Relatives pay calls and are called upon; meals are eaten; gifts arrive; people dance; servants rally in the established plantation fashion. Domestic bustle and a spattering of family reminiscences are all the narrative structure Miss Welty needs to house her treasures of sensibility.

And yet one suspects that, for all its tenuousness, "Delta Wedding" says precisely what it intends to say. Among evocative novelists Miss Welty is extraordinarily gifted; and if one finishes her book with a strong sense of confusion as to Miss Welty's own judgment upon certain aspects of Delta life, one has no reason to feel that it is because Miss Welty lacks the ability to communicate any content she wants to. For instance, in common with most of our talented Southern writers, Miss Welty is frank to acknowledge the possible blemishes on the surface of the society she so much adores; she specifies snobbery, xenophobia, "mindlessness"—the kindly euphemism, we gather, for idiocy or insanity—and others of the distractions and sorrows that we have so often been told are part of the price the South pays for its heritage of pride. Yet this much honest revelation of Southern fact can in no way be interpreted as an adverse criticism of the Fairchild way of life. Quite the contrary, it must rather be interpreted as a test of Miss Welty's love for it—a love so strong that it can not only admit these failings but even cherish them. For just as the Fairchild women have always loved the large indolences which they see as the other side of the coin of the large generosities of their men, so Miss Welty would seem to love the Fairchild meannesses and arrogances and weaknesses as the inevitable other side of the coin of their aristocratic grace and charm. She leaves her honest cultural observations in rosy poetic solution exactly because she does not wish to precipitate them as moral judgment.

Now obviously in asking for moral judgment I am asking only for moral discrimination, and not for what usually passes for it—moralizing hostility; even more than other forms of growth, art flourishes in affection. And I would not wish to dismiss as without worth or good meaning all the elements in the Fairchild culture that Miss Welty finds so beguiling. Certainly the careless abundance of Fairchild life—the abundance of children, of visitors, of fondness, of hams, beaten biscuit, iced lemonade, cocoanut layer cakes, even of indulgence of a daughter's wilfulness when she selects a socially undesirable husband—is something to be cherished; and I for one would not wish to replace it with the brittle and meager domestic ideal of much of our "progressive" Northern literature. As I say, it is where "Delta Wedding" implies—and the implication is pervasive—that the parochialism and snobbery of the Fairchild clan is the condition of the Fairchild kind of relaxation and charm, or that the Fairchild grace has a necessary source in a life of embattled pride, that I must deeply oppose its values.

In writing about Miss Welty's last book, "The Wide Net," I spoke of the self-consciousness of her developing style, of the narcissistic dream quality of the stories in that volume as compared to her earlier work. In the light of her present novel one begins to see the connection between this style and Miss Welty's relation to traditional Southern culture. For in the best of her stories, and they were the earliest ones, Miss Welty gave us what was really a new view of the South, indeed a new kind of realism about the South; and for this she used, not a dance prose, but a prose that walked on its feet in the world of reality. But increasingly Miss Welty has turned away from the lower-middle-class milieu of, say, The Petrified Man, to that part of the Southern scene which is most available to myth and celebrative legend and, in general, to the narcissistic Southern fantasy; and for this her prose has risen more and more on tiptoe. As a result, one of our most promising young writers gives signs of becoming, instead of the trenchant and objective commentator we hoped she would be, just another if more ingenious dreamer on the Southern past.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

FIRST there were the advertisements with their quotations from newspaper reviews of Maryla Jonas's recital, and in particular the *Herald Tribune's* "finest woman pianist since Teresa Carreño." Then there were the newspaper stories about that sensational first recital of a completely unknown pianist, attended by a handful of public and a few second-string reviewers who had expected the usual debut recital and had been electrified by what they heard. It seemed like something one ought to hear; and so I went to the second recital.

Carnegie Hall was filled this time when Mme Jonas appeared, seated herself at the piano, waited for the audience to become quiet, and then slowly lowered her head until it was about six inches from the hands that began to produce a barely audible *pppp* for the opening arpeggios of Mozart's D minor Fantasia. After this introduction the first melodic passage was played with continuing ostentatious intentness on the production of non-legato sounds with exaggerated arm movements, and on the continuing exaggerated quiet—to the point where suddenly all of Mme Jonas stiffened in the evident intensity of purpose with which she poised her right arm over the keyboard and then struck it a blow that hurt one's ears with the jangling *ffff*. And this overdramatic alternation of the utmost extremes of soft and loud, produced with these visual theatricalisms, constituted the total sum of the interpretative resources that were employed in the presentation of Mozart's Fantasia, a Beethoven Rondo, and Bach's D major Toccata. Only with the beginning of Schubert's Impromptu Opus 90 No. 3 was there the beginning of normal, unaffected piano-playing that was quite lovely; but it did not continue throughout the piece. And in Chopin's Polonaise Opus 71 No. 2 there was a return to the alternation of dynamic extremes—a passage being first hammered out, then repeated in a whisper, all with exaggeration of the mannered style that is considered proper for Chopin. At that point I thought I knew how Mme Jonas played music on the piano, and left.

Olin Downes, the next day, informed his *Times* readers that he had entered Carnegie Hall as Mme Jonas was playing Bach's Toccata—at a point, it appeared later, of "self-communing" in the music, when "the piano spoke, in a way that with a whisper of tone commanded and held the attention in the spaces of Carnegie Hall"; and that "he came to the immediate conclusion that he was listening to a poet and master of her instrument." On the other hand the concluding fugue—as assaulted and battered by Mme Jonas—impressed Mr. Downes with the "bold announcement of the subject, the clearness, and energy, and power of its development." It would seem hardly remarkable that a pianist should play Schubert's Impromptu and Chopin's Polonaise differently; but for Mr. Downes this became a significant "complete distinction between the lyricism of Schubert and the lyricism of Chopin," which revealed an understanding, rarely encountered in pianists, of the nature of both composers, of the "naivete" of Schubert and the "more complex psychology and far greater sophistication of Chopin"—Schubert, apparently, being in Mr. Downe's mind only the naive composer of the Impromutu Opus 90 No. 3, not the psychologically complex composer of the later piano sonatas. "Never exaggerating," for Mr. Downes's ears, Mme Jonas "proved that she has the secret, not shared by many, of Chopin's 'rubato' "—in performances in which "she caught with intuition each fluctuation of color, tempo, and mood." And more of same.

In *PM*, a couple of days later, Robert A. Hague turned out to have heard the "meticulous concentration on detail and nuance of tone," which was "a little wearing," and the "little bursts of dramatic emphasis and general fussiness she displayed in Mozart's D minor Fantasia and Beethoven's C major Rondo." But he also, evidently, had seen the lowered head of "a pure musician and a selfless interpreter, completely submerging her own personality in an uncompromising devotion to the music in hand." And he had heard "fine quality of tone, dynamic variety, shape, breadth, and profound understanding in her performance of the Bach Toccata; "deep insight, flawless technique, and remarkable beauty of tone" in performances which "fully revealed the romantic poetry, the shifting moods and colors of Chopin."

I found no review in the *Herald Tribune;* and instead of looking for any others I hunted up the *Herald Tribune* review of the first recital. It turned out to have been written by—of all people—Jerome D. Bohm; and I say "of all people" because a man whose stern ears could not concede even qualified recognition of the outstanding musical and pianistic competence of a Webster Aitken or a Franz Rupp is the last one I would expect to describe a Maryla Jonas as "a musician with a remarkable command of style . . . mastery of the tonal resources of the piano . . . a widespread, variegated coloristic gamut . . ." including a "loudest fortissimo" that "remained pithy and round," and to find in her a player "in the grand manner . . . [that] one has become accustomed to thinking moribund," who provided heartening knowledge that "the great tradition is safe in her hands." But turned around it becomes entirely understandable: the man who is impressed by the ham acting and playing of a Maryla Jonas will be deaf to the art of an Aitken or a Rupp.

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE POSTMAN ALWAYS RINGS TWICE" is mainly a terrible misfortune from start to finish. I except chiefly the shrewd performances of Hume Cronyn and Leon Ames, as lawyers. I say it with all respect for the director, Tay Garnett, and with all sympathy for the stars, Lana Turner and John Garfield. It looks to have been made in a depth of seriousness incompatible with the material, complicated by a paralysis of fear of the front office. It is, however, very interesting for just those reasons—it is what can happen, especially in Hollywood, if you are forced to try both to eat your cake and have it, and don't realize that it is, after all, only good pumpernickel. It is also interesting as the third current movie—the others are "From This Day Forward" and "Deadline at Dawn"—which represents the Law as an invincibly corrupt and terrifying force before which mere victims, whether innocent or guilty, can only stand helpless and aghast. Of course this could at a moment's notice shift over to the one about the state being far greater than the individual, because stronger, smarter, and more inscrutable; and I suppose that before we know it, if not sooner, we shall have it that way. But so far the attitude is almost 100 per cent contemptuous of organized justice and is accepted as such, with evident pleasure, by the audience. I could almost believe

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that this indicates a Trend. I hope so.

"Hymn of the Nations" is a film record of Toscanini, conducting also another work of Verdi's, the overture to "La Forza del Destino." Much of the time the camera shows Toscanini close to. I could not hear the voice, though it is visibly at work in many parts of the performance, but the face is as good a record of human existence somewhere near its utmost as we are likely to see.

"Days and Nights" is about as close as Russian movies get to Hollywood; which is too close for anybody's comfort. There are, however, some excellent and well-arranged shots of the siege of Stalingrad; the girl is very sweet; most of the men are admirable. I didn't read the novel, but to judge by the movie it was apotheosized by the Book of the Month Club for more than merely courteous reasons.

"Portrait of a Woman" presents Françoise Rosay in four roles, all directed by her husband, Jacques Feyder. She is good in all of them, and the picture is obviously controlled by a man of talent and high principles; but the story is like a Frenchified drugstore version of a Samuel French Co. play, and there is a pathetic, marking-time seediness about the whole film which made me both like it and want to forget it.

I have almost never mentioned, much less written, movie news here; but I think a few things are worth calling to your attention.

Chaplin will start shooting his comedy about Landru this summer; this I regard as the best piece of news in some time.

David O. Selznick has "registered" the titles of seven (7) plays by Shakespeare; which, unless I overestimate the power of law, means that nobody else in this country can make movies of them before he does. No comment.

A French film, "The Virtuous Vivi," has been banned by the New York censors. Since it is played straight down the censors' throats, in reckless amusement over their kind, that was only to be expected. It is in spots cruel, and questionable—I don't entirely like making fun of an imbecile, even in fun; it also tends, as I think they say, to undermine morals. For that reason, and because it is very funny, touching, and skilful, I urge everyone to protest the ban, whether it does any good or not.

John Huston's "Let There Be Light," a fine, terrible, valuable non-fiction film about psychoneurotic soldiers, has been forbidden civilian circulation by the War Department. I don't know what is necessary to reverse this disgraceful decision, but if dynamite is required, then dynamite is indicated.

CONTRIBUTORS

STERLING A. BROWN, formerly visiting professor at Vassar College, is professor of English at Howard University. He is the author of "Southern Road" and "The Negro in American Fiction," and one of the editors of "The Negro Caravan."

JERRY SPINGARN is an expert on radio law formerly employed by the FCC.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "Literature and Society," "Art for Art's Sake," "The France of Tomorrow," "The Future of Paris," a book on city planning, "Napoleon," and "Europe Free and United." His latest book is "France, a Short History."

P. ALSTON WARING is a Pennsylvania farmer, and co-author of a book on the small farm called "Roots in the Earth." He has recently completed a book on the relations between farmers and industrial workers to be published in the fall.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of verse, including "The Summer Landscape" and "Out of the Jewel." He has published a translation of Lorca's poems and edited the Spanish Loyalist anthology, "And Spain Sings."

In forthcoming issues of The Nation

Bill Mauldin will review
Ernie Pyle's "The Last Chapter."

Hans Reichenbach will review
Charles Morris's "Signs, Language, and Behavior."

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., will review
Harry Butcher's "My Three Years with Eisenhower."

Paul Tillich will review
George Santayana's "The Idea of Christ in the Gospels."

Wylie Sypher will review
George Orwell's "Dickens, Dali, and Others."

Isaac Rosenfeld will review
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Letters to the Editors

Justified but Inappropriate

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that the criticism contained in I. F. Stone's article Atomic Pie in the Sky, in your issue of April 6, is justified and of a constructive character. On the one side it is to be highly appreciated that official authorities—even from army quarters—have openly recognized that security can be reached only on the basis of world government. On the other side, however, it seems to me that the proposed measures for the interim period are not quite appropriate to bring us nearer to the goal or to induce the confidence of other nations in the loyal intentions of our foreign policy.

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Princeton, N. J., April 9

What's in a Myth?

Dear Sirs: Dr. Guérard's criticism of Dr. Niebuhr's article The Myth of World Government (*The Nation*, March 16) is based on a point of divergence which is largely speculative. While Dr. Niebuhr finds that the small and organic community is actually primary to the large community, Dr. Guérard considers the consciousness of the worldwide community fundamental, cutting across the borderlines of ethnically and otherwise limited units of society. From this point of view the small units appear as distortions of the true human society, maintained artificially and with the help of "superstition."

On the basis of this, Dr. Guérard proceeds to make Dr. Niebuhr out as a thoroughgoing social nominalist, to whose mind only the small particular social unit is real, while the universal community is a completely synthetic idea, artificial although necessary. This certainly is not Dr. Niebuhr's contention as I understand it from this article or from any of his writings, sermons, or lectures on the subject. In Dr. Niebuhr's analysis both the small organic community and the worldwide community are real, although the latter has not been materialized so far and never may be, in an absolute sense. This is not to say that it cannot be achieved to the degree in which we shall create and practice it.

If Dr. Niebuhr concentrates on pointing out the opposing and retarding forces of an unethical and technical kind, he does so precisely because he believes in the ethical and technical imperative of a world community. His sense of honesty, however, forbids him to embark on the road toward this goal by "ostrich politics."

Calling the world community or its instrument, the world government, a "myth" does not mark it as a delusion but as an image of perfection, binding in principle and a standard for action, to which we are committed morally as well as by sober necessity, and whose realization we must pursue even if we may not achieve it in an absolute sense.

I definitely agree with Dr. Niebuhr.

HERTA PAULY

New York, April 26

Azerbaijan and Panama

Dear Sirs: It has puzzled me why Russian apologists for the recognition of Azerbaijan as a move for a Russian share of Iranian oil and perhaps a step toward a warm-water outlet on the Persian Gulf have not made mention of the United States and the building of the Panama Canal. Both nations favored a secessionist government as easier to influence.

Russian rottenness looks a good deal like American shrewdness. Let us use charity in judging either.

JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, N. S., March 30

A Farmer Protests

Dear Sirs: For some time I have felt *The Nation* should carry an article on agriculture, its situation and operating conditions. The issue of March 23 had such an article by Carey McWilliams.

I am a ranch operator on the fringe of what Mr. McWilliams calls "large-scale commercial farms." My crops are beef cattle, hay, and grain; I employ one man the year round, and from two to five "seasonal workers."

Why does McWilliams operate with statistics going only up to 1941 and, in some cases, 1943, when later data are available? How can he say that "there was a vast surplus of seasonal farm workers"; that "while some wage rates did increase between 1940 and 1945, no general gains were recorded"; that "by such stratagems [employment of prisoners of war, soldiers, Mexicans] the large growers avoided . . . competing with industry for workers"; that, to top it all off, "agriculture suffered no real manpower shortage during the war"?

In 1941 wages for seasonal farm workers were around $45 a month plus board, or $2.50 a day; in 1945 they had advanced to $125 a month or $5 a day. Irrigators have come up from $60 to $180 and more; stackers from $4 to $10. But—beef cattle have only gone up from 6 cents to 12 cents a pound; hay from $8 to $12 a ton. And workers' productivity has declined in the same ratio as their wages have increased.

If it had not been for Mexican workers' you in the cities would have had nothing to eat. Their wages were the same as those for American hands, although they were totally unfamiliar with our machines; and if some Mexicans were short-changed, such conditions were not general.

Articles like McWilliams's, giving an entirely wrong picture of a situation, lead to nothing but unnecessary trouble. The seasonal agricultural worker is a necessity because we cannot change nature's way. We have to work at least ten hours a day, and sometimes more, because you cannot tell a cow to calf only between eight and four, or cattle not to break through a fence after hours, or the sun to wait around until it suits somebody to wake up.

We have to compete with industrial wages; we can afford to do it if labor gives its best. The longer hours always will be necessary, but work in the open is much less monotonous than in a factory. The food the men get could not be bought in any restaurant for double the price.

Agriculture cannot operate on the same basis as mass-production industry, where wages can be raised, to a certain point, without increasing the price of the product. If industrial products increase in price—and they have gone up considerably as you must be well aware—and industrial wages keep on advancing, agricultural wages will rise too and so will our products unless we have bumper crops. This means an increased cost of living all around. We should look at what happened in France, for instance, during the '30's.

Labor did have grievances and in many cases undoubtedly still has; there is room for improvement all around. But if labor continues at the present rate, it will "cook its own goose." The line is not very far off—in my branch of

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agriculture, at least—where it will become unprofitable to continue operations.

WALTER B. HILLER

Livingston, Mont., April 14

Freedom from Fear

Dear Sirs: Ex-Justice Owen J. Roberts, Clarence Streit, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Albert Guérard approach a common objective—that of world government—from slightly varying angles. May I be permitted to approach it from that of the smaller democracies of Europe, which are finding it so hard to recover from the death grip of German oppression?

Power politics are again being played by the mighty, while the weaker nations stand helpless on the sidelines shuddering at their impending doom. Democracy has failed to assure them the most important of the four freedoms—freedom from fear; and as long as fear is the keynote of international relations there can be no lasting peace.

At the same time I find excessive stress laid in your columns upon the presumption that any attempt to unite, organize, and strengthen democracy must necessarily be anti-Russian. Surely there is no harm in strength per se, and, conversely, little virtue in lack of unity and weakness. The ideal of a united world is noble and reasonable and should be ceaselessly pursued by men of good-will. In the meantime what is wrong with attempting to unite the Western democracies, which are already bound together by a common ideology?

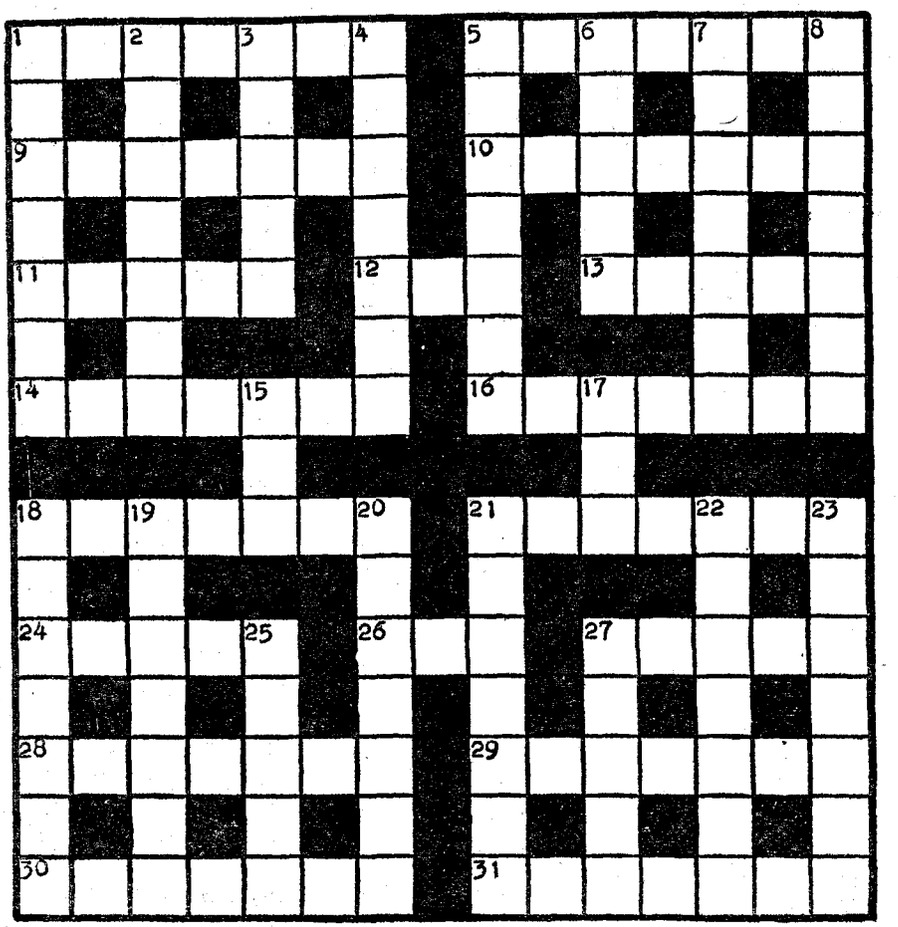
I entirely agree with the terms of Streit's opposition to the Churchill proposal for an alliance, which, he says, would be "limited to military and diplomatic affairs" and could be misinterpreted by powers outside its membership. But a union of democracies—and eventual federation should be the goal—would make democracy unassailable and thus insure freedom from fear to the smaller members of the association. The strength thus accruing to a system of social and political life which is vital to us all would command the respect of Russia; only the ingenuous would aver that Russia does not respect strength. If Russia's plans are non-aggressive, as it proclaims, it should have nothing to fear from a union which, while unassailable, would be non-aggressive, and by reason of its strength could come forward with proposals for a wider association in world government.

ANDRÉ MICHALOPOULOS

New York, April 25

Crossword Puzzle No. 160

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 A country lover
5 Would this false step cause you to be blackballed from a dance club? (two words, 4 and 3)
9 Goes on board? Just the opposite!
10 Nice top (anag.)
11 Put out
12 "Oh yet we trust that somehow good Will be the final goal of ---"
13 His *Peg Woffington* and *It's Never Too Late to Mend* pleased the Victorians
14 Rather an unflattering sobriquet to give poor old Ethelred
16 Jaundiced
18 Probably the world's ugliest animal
21 French tapestry named after the 15th century family that made it
24 Puts to flight
26 Went to sea with the Pussy-cat in the Edward Lear rhyme
27 Imagine finding amber in a fish!
28 A flower without petals
29 Rooms with only three sides
30 Spectacle of armored cavalry in action
31 Vents

DOWN

1 An upstart
2 Is more palatable with Italian burgundy in it
3 Got in a bar
4 Give evidence
5 Last comes a fishy friend perhaps
6 This cut comes from a boxer not a butcher
7 In what Arctic port will you find Sam Peto?
8 "There is a pleasure in the pathless woods, There is ------- where none intrudes"
15 "Oak before ---, only a splash; --- before oak, prepare for a soak"
17 What tennis players call a high ball
18 It justifies an arrest
19 Not paper money exactly, but a roll of coins put up in paper
20 A tradesman starts his own business
21 Italian pioneer of farsightedness
22 It flows the way the wind blows (two words, 3 and 4)
23 A vengeful goddess
25 He who sups with the devil needs a long one
27 Part of the coast eaten away?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 159

ACROSS:—1 VITAL; 4 CUBES; 7 LISA; 9 CLERGY; 10 VALSE; 12 BORE; 13 LAMP; 15 TAILORS; 17 AUBURN; 18 NIECES; 19 BYE; 21 PROFUSE; 23 RAUCOUS; 24 EGG; 26 UNTOLD; 28 RUBBER; 31 ERMINES; 32 PURR; 35 LIMB; 36 PSALM; 37 DOUSED; 38 TENT; 39 NINES; 40 RUFUS.

DOWN:—1 VALE; 2 TURBAN; 3 LOYALTY; 4 CAVERN; 5 BILL; 6 STEM; 7 LIBYA; 8 SCRUB; 11 SANCHO; 14 POSTS; 15 TROUBLE; 16 SINUOUS; 19 BEE; 20 ERG; 21 PLUMP; 22 OTTERS; 25 GUILDER; 27 DRAMAS; 28 REBUFF; 29 BRIDE; 30 ROBOT; 33 UPON; 34 RAIN; 35 LETS.

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